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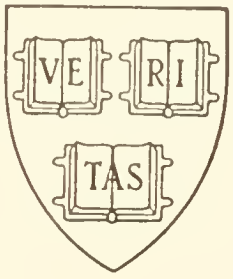

GIFT OF THE

GOVERNMENT
OF THE UNITED STATES

VIOLATIONS OF STATE DEPARTMENT REGULATIONS AND PRO-CASTRO PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

PART 1

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

MAY 6, 7, AND 23, 1963

INCLUDING INDEX

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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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Public Law 601, 79th Congress

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946]; 60 Stat. 812, which provides:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * *

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Rule X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

Rule XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * * * *

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deem advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * * * *

Rule XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

Sec. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 88TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 9, 1963

* * * * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

* * * * * * *

(r) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

* * * * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * * * *

18. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

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* * * * * * *

27. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

SYNOPSIS

On May 6, 7, and 23, 1963, a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities held public hearings in Washington, D.C., on the subjects of travel to Cuba by U.S. citizens in violation of State Department regulations and the dissemination of pro-Castro propaganda within the United States by persons who had recently traveled to Cuba with or without passports validated for such travel by the Department of State.

The legislative purposes of the hearings were to determine the need (1) for tightening laws regulating foreign travel of U.S. citizens, and (2) for broadening the definition of persons required to register with the Attorney General under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938.

The subcommittee was composed of Representatives Edwin E. Willis (chairman), William M. Tuck, and August E. Johansen. Also in attendance at the hearings at various times were Representatives Joe R. Pool, Donald C. Bruce, Henry C. Schadeberg, and John M. Ashbrook.

The first witness before the subcommittee on May 6 was Fred Jerome, 24, an unemployed writer of New York City and the son of V. J. Jerome, a long-time Communist Party official. Fred Jerome testified that he had made trips to Cuba in February, October, and December of 1960. He was in Cuba when the United States severed diplomatic relations with that country on January 3, 1961, and, according to his testimony, remained in Cuba until approximately April 11, 1961.

Mr. Jerome said he had not been aware that after January 16, 1961, the State Department required a passport or entrance permit for persons returning to the United States from Cuba. He testified that after the severance of diplomatic relations, he did not register with the Swiss Embassy, which has served U.S. interests in Cuba since diplomatic relations were severed between the two countries. Neither, he said, did he make application at the Swiss Embassy in Havana for a passport or entrance permit before returning to the United States in April 1961.

With regard to his most recent trip to Cuba in December 1960, Mr. Jerome testified that he had not made the journey on the advice or at the request of any Communist functionary. He told the subcommittee he had paid his own fare and made his own travel arrangements for the trip.

Mr. Jerome refused, however, on various grounds, including the fifth amendment, to say whether he was on the payroll of the Communist Party at the time he went to Cuba in December 1960 and whether he had received any information, matter, or thing in Cuba which he was requested to impart or deliver in the U.S. to persons known to him to be members of the Communist Party.

The witness denied that he had visited Cuba for the purpose of acquiring information or material with which to serve more effectively in the United States as a propagandist for the Communist regime of Fidel Castro. He declined, however, to state the reason why he had visited Cuba.

In response to a question by the subcommittee's counsel, Mr. Jerome said he had not registered, or made application for registration, with the Attorney General under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938.

The witness refused, on his previously stated grounds, to say whether at the age of 14 he had been a member of the Labor Youth League, which, on February 15, 1955, the Subversive Activities Control Board had found to be a Communist-front organization. He also refused to acknowledge that, for a period of time prior to 1958, he had contributed articles on youth activities to the Communist *Daily Worker* newspaper and declined to say if he had been under the discipline of the Communist Party at the time.

On his previously stated grounds, Mr. Jerome declined to say whether he had attended the Communist-controlled Fifth World Youth Festival at Warsaw, Poland, July 31 to August 14, 1955. He admitted he had been issued a U.S. passport on June 13, 1955, and that on the application for the passport he had listed only England and France as countries he intended to visit and had stated his travel was for sightseeing purposes. He acknowledged that the passport he received contained a prohibition against travel to Communist Poland. He denied that the principal purpose for which he had applied for the passport was to attend the Fifth World Youth Festival. He invoked the fifth amendment and other reasons, however, in declining to say whether he had used an alias at that Youth Festival.

Mr. Jerome declined to affirm or deny committee information that in 1957, under the alias of "Walter Hirsch," he had served as the East Coast recruiting agent for the U.S. Youth Festival Committee for the Sixth World Youth Festival held in Moscow from July 28 to August 11, 1957. He also refused, on the grounds of the fifth amendment and for other reasons, to admit that in 1957, in the capacity of recruiter for the U.S. Youth Festival Committee, he had applied for a post office box under the name of "Walter Hirsch" and that the names of Fred Jerome and Jacob Rosen had been listed on the application for the box as references for "Walter Hirsch."

The witness declined to answer when asked if he knew Jacob Rosen; if he had attended City College of New York with Rosen; if he knew Jacob Rosen to be a Communist Party member; if he knew Rosen had been so identified before this committee on February 3, 1960; and if he knew Rosen had invoked the fifth amendment when asked by the committee on the same day whether he belonged to the Communist Party.

Mr. Jerome admitted that on January 23, 1957, he again had applied for a U.S. passport, but he refused to say if he had done so for the purpose of attending the Sixth World Youth Festival in Moscow. He admitted that the application in question was denied by the State Department.

He also refused, on his previously stated grounds, to say whether at the time of his testimony on May 6, 1963, he was a member of the Communist Party.

The second witness on May 6 was Elizabeth Sutherland Martinez, a senior editor for the Simon and Schuster publishing house in New York City, who used the name "Elizabeth Sutherland" for professional purposes. She is a native of Washington, D.C., and a 1946 graduate of Swarthmore College.

Miss Sutherland testified that in the spring or summer of 1961 she applied for a U.S. passport under the name of Elizabeth Sutherland Martinez, the name appearing on her birth certificate. She obtained a passport validated for one round trip to Cuba to begin August 10, 1961, and to end not later than September 10, 1961. She actually departed by air from Miami to Cuba about the middle of August 1961, she told the subcommittee.

Miss Sutherland testified that the purpose of the trip, as she had informed the State Department, was to obtain material to write an article on new Cuban films for the magazine *Film Quarterly*, sponsored by the University of California.

While in Cuba, Miss Sutherland said, she visited as an unofficial observer "probably each of the days" the Cuban Writers and Artists Congress, held in Havana, August 18–23, 1961. She said she saw less than half a dozen other Americans in attendance at the Congress. She "declined," without citing any legal reason for doing so, to identify the "few" Americans she said she had seen at the Congress.

The witness was asked if while in Cuba she had seen a number of Americans whose names she was given by the subcommittee's counsel. She denied having seen some of them and claimed not to have known others. The only American she admitted having seen in Cuba was Leroy McLucas, a free-lance photographer who, according to the witness, "was there legally."

Miss Sutherland admitted that part of the expenses of her stay in Cuba had been absorbed by the Cuban Government. She said that when she attempted to pay for the meals and lodging she had received at the Havana Libre Hotel, she was informed there would be no charge for them.

She denied having had prior knowledge that her meals and lodging would be free at the Havana Libre. She further denied her privileged treatment had led to an understanding that upon her return to the United States she would disseminate propaganda favorable to the Castro regime.

Miss Sutherland testified she had not registered with the Attorney General as a foreign agent as defined by the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938 because, she said, she was neither a foreign agent nor a lobbyist. Although uncertain of the exact date, she nevertheless acknowledged that sometime during the winter of 1961 she had delivered a report on "Cuba's Congress of Writers & Artists" at Adelphi Hall in New York City at a meeting and panel discussion sponsored by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. The meeting was held, according to announcements, on December 4, 1961, nearly 3 months after her return to the United States. The event was advertised by the FPCC in the Communist *Worker* of November 28, 1961, and the pro-Communist *National Guardian* of December 4, 1961.

The witness admitted having spoken on the above occasion at the request of the chairman of the FPCC. She testified she had been a member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in 1961 and 1962 and severed relations with it only because she had neglected to pay her

dues. Miss Sutherland acknowledged having made other speeches for the FPCC.

The subcommittee questioned Miss Sutherland at length about her association with photographer Leroy McLucas, the one American she admitted by name as having seen in Cuba during her visit there.

Miss Sutherland told the subcommittee that she had first met Mr. McLucas socially in about the middle of 1960. She later saw some of his photographs and was favorably impressed by them.

The witness said it had been her idea for Mr. McLucas to go to Cuba and make photographs for a pictorial book Miss Sutherland had in mind for possible publication. Mr. McLucas did not have a formal contract with Simon and Schuster for the photography project in Cuba, she testified; it had been an informal arrangement between Mr. McLucas and her, under which he was to pay his own expenses for the trip.

The subcommittee's counsel introduced evidence that on July 13, 1961, Mr. McLucas both filed for and received a U.S. passport from the New York Passport Office of the State Department. On his application for this passport, Mr. McLucas indicated that England was the only country he intended to visit and that he expected to depart from New York on his trip about July 20, 1961.

Miss Sutherland told the subcommittee she could not recall the precise date on which she learned that Mr. McLucas had received a passport. She denied, however, having known that he both applied for and received it on the same date and that he had stated on his application that England was his only destination.

Nevertheless, Miss Sutherland admitted that on July 14, 1961, on Simon and Schuster stationery, she had written a letter "To Whom It May Concern," in which she stated that Mr. McLucas had been given a photographic assignment in Cuba.

Further evidence introduced by the subcommittee showed that on the same date, July 14, 1961, Mr. McLucas enclosed the "To Whom It May Concern" letter written by Miss Sutherland with one he forwarded to the New York Passport Office of the State Department, in which he asked that his passport be validated for travel to Cuba on July 21, 1961. Miss Sutherland said she recalled that on July 21, 1961, the New York Passport Office rejected Mr. McLucas' request for permission to travel to Cuba, but on July 24, 1961, the State Department in Washington reversed its New York office and validated Mr. McLucas' passport for visitation to Cuba until December 31, 1961. Miss Sutherland testified it had been her "To Whom It May Concern" letter that had been responsible for the validation of Mr. McLucas' passport for travel to Cuba.

Information obtained by the committee indicated that although Mr. McLucas had initially asked permission to travel to Cuba on July 21, 1961, he did not actually arrive there until September 3, 1961. Miss Sutherland said she could provide no reason why Mr. McLucas had delayed his trip.

The photographer remained in Cuba beyond the December 31, 1961, expiration date of his State Department-approved visit. On January 4, 1962, he sent a letter from the Hotel Presidente in Havana to the State Department in Washington, requesting an extension of his stay in Cuba for 3 or 4 months to complete his photographic activities.

The committee learned further that approximately 1 month later,

on February 5, 1962, Mr. McLucas formally applied for a validation extension through the Swiss Embassy in Cuba, which was handling U.S. affairs there. The Swiss official who received Mr. McLucas' application was concerned about the American's strong political convictions, which were not only favorable to the Castro Cuban Government but against the United States, his own country.

The Swiss official was so disturbed by Mr. McLucas' unusual attitude that, instead of issuing a new passport, as he could have, he forwarded the application with a precautionary note about the applicant's views to the U.S. Department of State for final decision. Despite the Swiss Embassy's warning, the State Department approved Mr. McLucas' application for a new passport and so notified the Swiss Embassy in Cuba on February 23, 1962. On March 30, 1962, however, the Swiss Embassy informed Washington that McLucas had rejected the passport and no longer planned to return to the United States.

Nevertheless, Mr. McLucas did eventually return to the United States and, according to Miss Sutherland, about a year after he had gone to Cuba, brought photographs he had taken in Cuba to her New York office.

Miss Sutherland testified that in the fall or early winter of 1962 she had attended a public showing by Mr. McLucas of a movie film he had made in Cuba. The event took place in a building in New York City, Miss Sutherland said, but she could not recall its address. She also acknowledged having seen Mr. McLucas about 2 months prior to the date of her testimony before the subcommittee.

The Committee on Un-American Activities was unable to locate Mr. McLucas to subpena him for the May 6 and 7 hearings.

The witness was questioned about her associations with the now defunct Medical Aid to Cuba Committee, which had been the subject of hearings by the Committee on Un-American Activities in November 1962 and which the subcommittee's counsel said the record showed to be Communist-controlled.

Miss Sutherland acknowledged that in an appeal for funds advertised in the *New York Times* of November 13, 1962, by the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee, her name had been identified as the person to whom checks should be made payable. She stated she had not received the checks herself, because they had been sent to the office address of the MACC, where she went to endorse them.

She denied having participated in the formation of the MACC, but testified that she had known Melitta del Villar, the founder, since the summer of 1962. Miss Sutherland acknowledged having been acquainted with Sidney J. Gluck and Dr. Louis Miller, MACC leaders with histories of Communist activities, but denied having had a close working relationship with them in that organization. She also denied having known about the Communist records of Mr. Gluck and Dr. Miller at the time she became a sponsor of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee. She said she had become affiliated wtih the MACC after receiving a mimeographed invitation from the group to attend one of its functions and after meeting and being favorably impressed with its chairman, Mrs. del Villar.

In the course of her testimony, Miss Sutherland acknowledged that she had been a signer of an ad which appeared in the pro-Communist *National Guardian* on July 16, 1962, and which appealed

to Great Britain to grant asylum to the late Dr. Robert A. Soblen, who had jumped bail and fled the United States after being convicted of spying against this country.

The final witness heard by the subcommittee on May 6, 1963, was Conrad J. Lynn of Pomona, N.Y., an attorney with offices in New York City. Mr. Lynn is a member of the National Executive Committee of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and defense counsel for Robert F. Williams, an NAACP leader who fled to Cuba to avoid prosecution on kidnaping charges lodged against him in connection with a racial disturbance which occurred in Monroe, N.C., in August 1961.

Mr. Lynn acknowledged to the subcommittee that he had been a member of the Young Communist League from 1928 to 1931 and a member of the Communist Party from 1934 until expelled in February 1937.

He said he and his family visited Cuba in the summer of 1960, about 5 months before the breaking of U.S.-Cuban diplomatic relations. About January 16, 1962, according to Mr. Lynn's testimony, he received U.S. passport validation for another trip to Cuba and, on February 2, 1962, flew to Cuba for the purpose of interviewing Robert F. Williams. The witness said he remained in Cuba until February 6 or 7, 1962, when he made a return flight to the United States by way of Newfoundland and Montreal, Canada.

In addition to Mr. Williams, Mr. Lynn recalled seeing only two Americans, Mrs. Azalena Johnson and Gerald Manuel Quinn, while in Cuba. He said the latter two had witnessed events in Monroe, N.C., which led to the kidnaping trial in which he was engaged. He said he did not know if Mr. Williams, Mrs. Johnson, and Mr. Quinn had possessed passports validated for travel to Cuba at the time or times of their arrival there.

In response to a question about what route Mr. Williams had taken to Cuba, Mr. Lynn replied, "Well, we reconstituted the underground railroad, and he got out through Canada." He said the "we" he referred to were friends of Robert Williams, none of whom was known to him (the witness) to be a member of the Communist Party.

The witness confirmed that, as advertised in the pro-Communist *National Guardian* of April 9, 1962, he had made an address on Cuba, under sponsorship of the West Side Committee for Friendly Relations With Cuba, at the Beacon Hotel in New York City on April 26, 1962.

Mr. Lynn acknowledged that earlier, on September 28, 1961, under sponsorship of the same group, he had appeared on a platform in New York with Mrs. del Villar and delivered a speech on the subject of Cuba. Reportedly, on this occasion, Mr. Lynn, in discussing the trip his family had made to Cuba in 1960, said that in Cuba for the first time he and his family knew what it meant to walk down the street "as a free man" and that, by keeping the light of the Cuban revolution aloft, the destiny of all the masses would be advanced. The witness acknowledged to the subcommittee that this could well have been a completely accurate report of what he said at that time.

The witness testified he had never registered or applied for registration with the Attorney General as a foreign agent under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938.

The witness was asked if he had participated in recent years with a number of persons in activities described by the subcommittee's counsel as Communist. Mr. Lynn admitted his participation, but disagreed with the characterization of some of the people and activities as being Communist, despite their having been formally identified or officially designated as such.

The first witness at the subcommittee's public hearings on May 7, 1963, was Leo Huberman, coeditor of the leftist *Monthly Review* magazine, which is described on its cover as "An Independent Socialist Magazine." Mr. Huberman said he had traveled to Cuba twice in 1960—before the U.S. broke diplomatic relations with Cuba and again on April 14, 1961, for about a 10-day stay, 4 months after the diplomatic break. On the occasion of the 1961 trip, he testified, his passport had been validated for travel to Cuba.

Mr. Huberman acknowledged that between 1960 and February 1963, *Monthly Review* had published numerous articles favorable to the Castro regime in Cuba, including a by-lined article of excerpts from a speech made by Fidel Castro. This article was printed as a result of a prior discussion by Mr. Huberman with the bearded dictator about the use of such material for publication. Another article in *Monthly Review* consisted of questions submitted by Mr. Huberman and answers to them supplied by Che Guevara, an international Communist functionary high in the Castro government.

The witness affirmed that the Monthly Review Press, of which he is co-owner, had published a pro-Castro book entitled *The Second Revolution in Cuba*, by Joseph Parker Morray, a correspondent for the *National Guardian* newspaper.

Mr. Huberman, who described himself as "a Marxist and a Socialist" at a committee hearing in 1962, admitted that on two of his three visits to Cuba since Castro's rise to power his hotel expenses and the cost of his travel throughout the island had been paid by the Cuban Government.

Mr. Huberman insisted, however, that he is not a propagandist for Cuba.

The final witness before the subcommittee's public hearings on May 7 was Edward Walter Shaw, the Midwest representative of the notoriously pro-Castro Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Throughout his appearance, Mr. Shaw invoked numerous reasons, including the fifth amendment, for evading practically all questions put to him, except those involving basic information about his education and background. Nevertheless, committee information brought out at the hearing showed that on March 9, 1961, Mr. Shaw applied for a United States passport to visit several Latin American countries, specifically Venezuela and Chile. In his application, the witness stated that he expected to depart from Miami in June 1961 and stay abroad for 2 months. A passport, with no validation for travel to Cuba, was issued to Mr. Shaw on March 13, 1961.

On September 18, 1961, according to information acquired by the Committee on Un-American Activities, Mr. Shaw departed from Mexico City for Havana, Cuba. While in Cuba, he applied at the Mexican Embassy in Havana for a Mexican Tourist Card. Mexican Tourist Card No. 2798249 was issued to him on September 26, 1961;

and on October 13, 1961, he used it to return to Mexico City from Cuba.

According to announcements in *The Worker* and *National Guardian*, Ed Shaw, with the use of color slides taken by him in Cuba, spoke on the subject of Cuba at meetings in Detroit on November 27, 1961; Chicago on December 8, 1961; and New York on January 15, 1962. In each instance, the event was sponsored by a group affiliated with the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Witness Shaw declined, for numerous reasons including the fifth amendment, to state whether he had ever belonged to the Communist Party of the United States or the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party.

At the conclusion of the May 7 public hearings, the chairman suggested to the subcommittee counsel that the case of Edward Shaw's travel to Cuba, apparently without proper passport validation, be referred to the Department of Justice for possible prosecution under the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952.

The first witness before the subcommittee on May 23, 1963, was Vincent Theodore Lee, national director of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. A native of New York City, Mr. Lee testified that he had received an elementary school education in New York City and 2 years of vocational training in Florida, where he learned the woodworking trade. He invoked the fifth amendment on questions pertaining to nearly all other subjects, however, including both past and present employment.

Despite the lack of cooperation from the witness, the following facts about Mr. Lee, as obtained through a preliminary investigation by the Committee on Un-American Activities, were entered into the record of the hearings by the subcommittee's counsel:

On April 3, 1961, Vincent Lee completed a State Department passport application in which he stated his intention of touring Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua for a period of about 3 months beginning in June 1961, although no passport requirement existed for travel between the United States and the above-mentioned countries. On April 6, 1961, he received the requested passport from the State Department's Miami, Fla., office. (Mr. Lee declined to tell the subcommittee whether he had made the tour.)

On July 19, 1962, Lee wrote a letter to the State Department requesting that his passport be validated for a visit to Cuba between August 30, 1962, and November 30, 1962. In the letter, he indicated he would make the trip as a free-lance journalist for the North American Newspaper Alliance and as a radio reporter for Radio Station WBAI in New York City.

Enclosed with Mr. Lee's July 19, 1962, letter to the State Department was a letter from Richard M. Elman, public affairs director for Station WBAI, who supported Lee's request for permission to travel to Cuba. Mr. Elman wrote that Lee had volunteered to go to Cuba and obtain tape recorded interviews with Fidel Castro and Ernesto "Che" Guevara, in accordance with questions prepared in advance by the staff of Station WBAI.

Not enclosed with Lee's July 19, 1962, letter, however, was any supporting evidence that he had been given an assignment by the North American Newspaper Alliance. (On May 16, 1963, the editor of the North American Newspaper Alliance wrote the Committee on Un-

American Activities that he had never previously heard of Mr. Lee or any arrangements between Lee and NANA.)

On July 26, 1962, the Department of State validated Lee's passport for travel to, and stay in, Cuba not to extend beyond December 30, 1962.

Mr. Lee departed from New York on December 26, 1962, just 4 days before the validation expired, and traveled to Cuba where he stayed for almost a month, returning to the United States on January 22, 1963. (Mr. Lee declined to tell the subcommittee whether his hotel accommodations had been provided free of charge by the Cuban Government, as had been done for other pro-Castro visitors in the past.)

Both before and after his trip to Cuba, Mr. Lee, under the auspices of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, on numerous occasions lectured, exhibited color films, and disseminated pamphlets on the subject of Cuba. (Mr. Lee declined, under the fifth amendment, to tell the subcommittee whether, as national director of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, he had received compensation directly or indirectly from the Castro regime.)

On April 6, 1963, Lee addressed a Los Angeles, Calif., meeting which had been arranged by the Greater Los Angeles Chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Another speaker on the same program was Helen Travis, an identified member of the Communist Party, who told the audience that the Fair Play for Cuba Committee was working strongly to educate the American people about Cuba and the need to aid the Castro government.

Mr. Lee invoked the fifth amendment, as he had on almost all other questions, when asked if he had registered with the Justice Department as a foreign agent under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938.

At the conclusion of the interrogation of Mr. Lee, Subcommittee Chairman Willis, after consulting the other members, requested the counsel for the subcommittee to send a copy of the transcript of Mr. Lee's testimony, along with exhibits pertaining to him, to the Department of Justice as a step toward possible prosecution.

The second witness on May 23 was Anatol Isaac Schlosser, 26, a graduate of New York University, from which he also received a master's degree in English literature and drama. Citing the fifth amendment and numerous other reasons, Mr. Schlosser refused to reveal his employment and declined to answer most of the questions put to him by the subcommittee and its counsel.

A preliminary investigation by the Committee on Un-American Activities had disclosed that the witness obtained a U.S. passport in 1958 and, on June 8, 1962, applied for a renewal of the passport for the purpose, he stated, of visiting England, France, Holland, and Italy. The renewed passport, No. C–44149, was issued on June 11, 1962.

Mr. Schlosser declined to tell the subcommittee whether he had at any time asked the State Department for validation of his passport for travel to Cuba. He denied, however, that he had visited Cuba subsequent to June 8, 1962, but refused, on the grounds previously stated, to say whether he had traveled elsewhere outside the United States after that date.

In November and December 1962, according to information acquired by the Committee on Un-American Activities, Anatol Schlosser was

a frequent spokesman for the newly formed Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba. The apparent purpose of the group was the organizing of a trip to Cuba, without validated passports, by U.S. college students in violation of a State Department regulation prohibiting such travel. As the spokesman for the prospective travelers, Mr. Schlosser reportedly said "the obstacles set in the way by the State Department constitute a further violation of the rights of all U.S. citizens," and that "students of the United States ought to go see with their own eyes how the Cuban people live and work." He implied that the U.S. newspapers had not reported the truth about the Cuban revolution.

Additional information acquired by the committee, and introduced into the record of the hearings, was a report attributed to Schlosser on December 12, 1962, that 80 or more students were planning to depart for Cuba by way of Montreal, Canada, later that month. Also introduced by subcommittee counsel was a copy of a State Department press release of December 13, 1962, which warned U.S. students that willful violation of travel regulations pertaining to Cuba was punishable by fine and/or imprisonment. The subcommittee also produced evidence that Schlosser subsequently said publicly he expected a number of students to defy the State Department by making the planned, unauthorized trip.

On the basis of the fifth amendment, as well as the other reasons he had previously cited, Mr. Schlosser declined to answer any questions about the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba or his activities and associations with it. He also declined to acknowledge that the planned trip to Cuba was canceled because, on December 22, 1962, the Canadian Government announced that it would not allow Canada to be used as a place of departure for U.S. students traveling illegally to Cuba.

The witness continued to invoke the fifth amendment when asked (1) if he had been correctly quoted by a January 1963 publication to the effect that the trip had not been canceled, only postponed until the summer of 1963, (2) if information acquired by the Committee on Un-American Activities that the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba had been replaced by the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba was correct, and (3) if the witness' home also served as the location of the office of the successor organization.

Mr. Schlosser also declined to say whether he had been in touch with the Cuban mission at the United Nations or the Czechoslovakian Embassy, which has been handling Cuban affairs in this country since the United States severed relations with Cuba in 1961.

The final witness at the subcommittee's public hearings on May 23 was Stefan Martinot, 23, a 1962 graduate of Antioch College, Ohio, who had pursued postgraduate work at Columbia University until April 10, 1963. He said he was a machine operator in a shop located in New York City.

Mr. Martinot acknowledged he had received a U.S. passport in 1958, applied for its renewal on October 22, 1962, and received it the next day. He further confirmed that in the application for renewal of his passport he had indicated the intent to travel to France, although he had not subsequently made a trip to France. He admitted that at the time he applied for the renewal of his passport

for travel to France, he also had in mind making a later application for validation of the renewed passport for travel to Cuba. The record shows that he asked for such validation on November 2, 1962, just a few days after receiving the new passport. The request was denied by the State Department on the ground Martinot had not indicated any emergency requirement to be in Cuba, and thus no exception to the limited-travel-to-Cuba policy could be made in his case.

The witness told the subcommittee he had been at the founding meeting of the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba on October 14, 1962, and that it had remained as such until the end of December 1962, when its name was changed to the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba. Mr. Martinot refused, on numerous grounds, excluding the self-incrimination clause of the fifth amendment, to provide the address of the location of the late-December 1962 meeting at which the name change of the organization was adopted. He said he would not testify about individuals other than himself or respond to questions about subjects the answers to which would reveal activities of persons other than himself.

The witness acknowledged he had been one of the organizers of an avowed Marxist-Leninist group called the Columbia [University] Progressive Labor Student Club on the campus of Columbia University in November 1962. He also admitted that the organization was affiliated with a group called Progressive Labor, which, according to information obtained by committee investigation, was formed in about January 1962 by Milton Rosen and Mortimer Scheer, both of whom had been expelled from the Communist Party in the fall of 1962 as "neo-Trotskyites."

Mr. Martinot, while claiming not to have been a Communist Party member himself, refused to say if he had been brought into the Progressive Labor organization by a person known to him to be a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. Martinot admitted to the subcommittee that he had been a spokesman for the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba and that, as such, in December 1962 he had continued to advocate unauthorized travel by students to Cuba, even after the State Department had warned against it and the Canadian Government had refused to permit U.S. students to travel to Cuba by way of Canada.

The witness testified that when he talked to students about the planned trip to Cuba he always pointed out there was a State Department prohibition against it and, although he and his committee felt this prohibition was unconstitutional, those who went to Cuba would probably have to face the consequences of having broken a law. He said the 80-odd students who attempted to go to Cuba during the Christmas holidays in 1962 had been required to send a letter to the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba, stating they knew about the ban on travel to Cuba without a validated passport, the State Department warning against making an unauthorized trip, and the possible consequences for doing so.

When asked additional questions about the previously mentioned Columbia Progressive Labor Student Club, Mr. Martinot said an application for a charter for the organization was filed in March

1963 and granted by Columbia University shortly thereafter. The stated purpose of the group at the time of the charter application, the witness said, was "to spread socialist ideas on the campus through leaflets and any other activities." He claimed that some of his publicly stated ideas about what the purposes of the organization should be were more radical than those of the organization itself. He admitted, for example, having said during the planning stages of the group in November 1962, "The aim would be for the working class, people who don't have a stake in ownership or management, to seize political control of the state."

Mr. Martinot told the subcommittee that there were approximately 70 to 75 members of the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba and that they still planned to make the trip which had been postponed the previous December. He said concrete plans had not been made as of the time of his testimony. He refused, for his previously cited reasons, to say whether he had held preliminary discussions with Levi Lee Laub, Milton Rosen, or Mortimer Scheer in connection with rescheduling the student trip to Cuba. He said he had not held such discussions with Vincent Theodore Lee, national director of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

The witness declared the money for defraying the cost of the operations of the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba and its predecessor group had been raised through a $10 deposit by each of the students who planned to go to Cuba. He said no money had come to the organization either from the Cuban Government or from the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

He admitted, however, that prior to the scheduled Christmas 1962 trip to Cuba his group had received an invitation from the Cuban Federation of University Students to be the latter group's guests while in Cuba. Also, he said, the Cuban Federation of University Students had offered the use of a Cuban plane for transporting the U.S. students from Toronto, Canada, to Cuba and back again.

Mr. Martinot said he assumed the same offers would be made to the U.S. students by the Cuban student group when plans were completed for the second attempt at making an unauthorized trip to Cuba.

VIOLATIONS OF STATE DEPARTMENT REGULATIONS AND PRO-CASTRO PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

Part 1

MONDAY, MAY 6, 1963

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10 a.m. in the Caucus Room, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Honorable Edwin E. Willis (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Subcommittee members: Representatives Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana; William M. Tuck, of Virginia; and August E. Johansen, of Michigan.

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Willis, Tuck, and Johansen.

Committee members also present: Representatives Joe R. Pool, of Texas; Donald C. Bruce, of Indiana; Henry C. Schadeberg, of Wisconsin; and John M. Ashbrook, of Ohio. (Appearances as noted.)

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; Alfred M. Nittle, counsel; and Louis J. Russell, investigator.

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will come to order.

Counsel for the committee tells me that another mike will have to be put before him. While that is being attended to, I will make this opening statement.

The subcommittee is convened to conduct hearings upon the subjects of inquiry and for the legislative purposes set forth in the committee resolution adopted April 24, 1963. I offer this resolution for the record. It reads as follows:

BE IT RESOLVED, that hearings by the Committee on Un-American Activities or a subcommittee thereof, be held in Washington, D.C., or at such other place or places as the Chairman may determine, on such date or dates as the Chairman may designate, relating to (a) Communist propaganda activities in the United States conducted in support of the Communist regime in Cuba, or for the purpose of advancing the policies and objectives of the world Communist movement in Latin America generally, (b) the activities of United States citizens acting on behalf of, or in the interest of, foreign Communist principals, and (c) foreign travel undertaken by United States citizens in connection with such activities and in violation of State Department travel regulations, for the following legislative purposes:

1. To provide factual information to aid Congress in the disposition of presently pending legislation (including, but not limited to Sections 709 and 712 of H.R. 958), or in the proposal of remedial legislation, in fulfillment of the directions contained in the mandate to the Committee by House Resolution 5 of January 9, 1963, and Public Law 601 of the 79th Congress.

2. The execution, by the administrative agencies concerned, of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, travel control laws (particularly Title 8 U.S.C. 1185), and regulations issued pursuant thereto, to assist the House in appraising the administration of such laws and regulations.

3. Consideration of the advisability of amending Title 22 U.S.C. 611, by extending the definition of the terms "foreign principal" and "agent of a foreign principal" so as to remove any doubt as to the true test of the agency relationship or its application to activities within the intent of Congress as expressed in the Act.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the hearings may include any other matter within the jurisdiction of the Committee which it, or any subcommittee thereof, appointed to conduct these hearings, may designate.

On December 16, 1950, over 12 years ago, the President of the United States proclaimed the existence of a national emergency (64 Stat. A454). Declaring that "recent events in Korea and elsewhere constitute a grave threat to the peace of the world," that "world conquest by Communist imperialism is the goal of the forces of aggression that have been loosed upon the world," and reminding the people of the United States that "if the goal of Communist imperialism were to be achieved, the people of this country would no longer enjoy the full, rich life they have with God's help built for themselves and their children," President Truman summoned—

all citizens to make united effort for the security and well-being of our beloved country and to place its needs foremost in thought and action that the full moral and material strength of the Nation may be readied for the dangers which threaten us.

The President then declared:

I summon all citizens to be loyal to the principles upon which our Nation is founded, to keep faith with our friends and allies, and to be firm in our devotion to the peaceful purposes for which the United Nations was founded.

This proclamation has not been altered or repealed by succeeding Presidents. We need not be reminded that this emergency continues and the peril has grown in urgency.

Primarily because of U.S. military action—and at a cost of 150,000 U.S. casualties—the forces of world communism did not succeed in conquering South Korea. But by one means or another since that time, they have gained control of North Vietnam; have become a coequal element with neutralists and anti-Communists in the government of Laos; seized Tibet and, with genocidal intent, suppressed resistance to their totalitarian rule there; and have also invaded India and occupied part of its territory. Today, they are carrying on open warfare in South Vietnam to topple the government of that country and have launched a civil war in Laos. Communist influence in Africa and Latin America has been extended, and some 2 years ago a Communist regime was established not in some far-off continent but in Cuba, 90 miles from our shores.

Last Monday, Castro, the Cuban Communist dictator, was lavishly hailed and welcomed in Moscow and, in the words of Khrushchev, described as the "envoy" of the first Communist revolution on the American continent, a "beacon" to all Latin America. In response, Castro affectionately attributed to the Soviet Union the continuing success of his movement.

The Communist-led rebellion against the Batista government initially gained acceptance here disguised as a "liberal" revolution. Well-intentioned people, both here and in Cuba, were led to support it.

Consequently, Castro successfully seized power in January 1959. The true character of this revolution quickly appeared in numerous acts of hostility committed against the United States and other non-Communist governments of Latin America. On January 3, 1961, the United States withdrew recognition of Castro's regime. Any doubt as to the course upon which Cuba was embarked was finally dispelled in December 1962 by Castro's frank admission of his allegiance to the Communist cause. He said, "I am a Marxist-Leninist and will be one until the day I die."

Under the protection and assistance of the Soviet Union, Castro's future was indefinitely secured. The efforts of the Communist Party of Cuba and its American comrades are synchronized through the Moscow leadership of the world Communist movement. To assist in maintaining this Latin American spearhead in the Western Hemisphere, the Communist Party, USA, at its last national convention held in New York City in December 1959, adopted as a main political resolution its "Hands Off Cuba" policy and called for an end to all "interference" in the affairs of Latin American countries. In other words, the basic Communist propaganda and agitation effort, enjoined as a directive upon American Communists, was to assure the continued existence of a Communist Cuba.

It is now apparent that Cuba was established as an advance Communist base in this hemisphere, intended to supply the inspiration, propaganda, training, communications, and technical assistance to revolutionary groups in the whole of Latin America and—more ominously—to provide an outpost for the Soviet Union, from which it may more conveniently and effectively direct its activities against the United States.

As pointed out by Central Intelligence Agency Director John McCone in his appearance before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs February 19th last:

> The Cuban effort at present is far more serious than the hastily organized and ill-conceived raids that the bearded veterans of the Sierra Maestra led into such Central American countries as Panama, Haiti, Nicaragua, and the Dominican Republic during the first eight or nine months Castro was in power.
>
> Today, the Cuban effort is far more sophisticated, more covert, and more deadly. In its professional tradecraft, it shows guidance and training by experienced Communist advisers from the Soviet bloc, including veteran Spanish Communists.

Mr. McCone further stated that approximately 1,500 persons went to Cuba during the year 1962 from other Latin American countries to receive ideological indoctrination and guerrilla warfare training. He pointed out that some courses offered last as long as a year and include intensive training in sabotage, espionage, and psychological warfare and that these "visitors" to Cuba serve also as couriers for Soviet communications and the financing of the Communist effort in various countries.

This liaison with Cuba, however, is not merely conducted by Communist Party members and others of the Latin American countries. Despite the presently existing ban on travel to Cuba, despite the proclamation of national emergency summoning all citizens of the United States to be loyal to the principles upon which our Nation is founded, a substantial number of U.S. citizens continue to conduct a liaison with Cuba on behalf of promoting the Communist Cuban regime.

To control this traffic between the United States and Cuba, the Department of State announced on January 16, 1961, a modification of the travel control regulations, prohibiting travel to Cuba by any citizen of the United States, or any person owing allegiance to the United States, unless he bears a passport validated by the Secretary of State for travel to Cuba (22 CFR Pt. 53.3, as amended). These regulations are based upon the security provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, regulating travel of citizens and aliens during war or national emergency, and empowering the President to impose restrictions and prohibitions, in addition to those provided by the applicable section of the Act (8 U.S.C. 1185).

The regulations now proclaimed by the President require no passport for travel in the areas of North, Central, or South America, with the exception of Cuba. However, although travel to North, Central, or South America (excluding Cuba) generally requires no passport, this does *not* apply to U.S. citizens who travel to Cuba via countries of this hemisphere or any country for which a passport is required.

It is interesting to note that the Special Consultative Committee on Security of the Organization of American States, on February 20, 1963, offered an advisory document recommending to member states a general prohibition of travel to Cuba except for those who have valid reasons, such as those of a humanitarian nature, and to require a travel document for every person who crosses an international border.

Despite the general ban on travel to Cuba unless a validated passport is obtained for such travel, Chairman Walter recently pointed out in a committee press release that the committee's investigation has determined that some 100 American citizens have traveled to Cuba in violation of these regulations. Committee investigations initiated in July of 1962 disclose that travel to Cuba and other Communist countries by United States citizens, both authorized and unauthorized, appeared to create a serious security problem, suggesting deficiencies in the law or its administration, in relation to travel control laws and regulations, and also with regard to the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938. Propaganda and other assistance was clearly being rendered to the Communist cause in Cuba and throughout Latin America by United States citizens.

On January 9, 1963, the chairman of this committee introduced H.R. 958, which was referred to the Committee on Un-American Activities. Sections 709 and 712 of H.R. 958, dealing with passport security and travel control and restrictions on the issuance and use of passports, are directed particularly toward the travel of persons associated with subversive organizations and with subversive objectives or aims. This problem has for some time occupied the attention of this committee, and hearings from time to time have been conducted in relation to it in an attempt to provide factual information as a basis for solution to these grave problems.

Other bills have been introduced in the House in an effort to resolve these difficulties, including H.R. 5320 introduced by Mr. Cramer and H.R. 5683 introduced by Mr. Walter, which are broader in application and have been referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. Pursuant to its mandate of Congress to conduct investigations that will aid the Congress in disposition of necessary remedial legislation, it is believed that the present investigation of the Committe on Un-

American Activities, relating to Communist propaganda activities, will be helpful in the disposition of these bills. Moreover, hearings fixed by the present resolution of the committee will also assist the Congress in obtaining additional information with respect to other bills referred to the committee, including but not limited to, H.R. 475, a proposed amendment to the Internal Security Act of 1950, which provides penalties for becoming or remaining a member of Communist-action organizations.

I now offer for the record the order of appointment of this subcommittee as follows:

APRIL 22, 1963.

To: Francis J. McNamara,
Director, Committee on Un-American Activities

Pursuant to the provisions of the law and the rules of this Committee, I hereby appoint a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, consisting of Honorable Edwin E. Willis as Chairman, and Honorable William M. Tuck and Honorable August E. Johansen as associate members, to conduct a hearing in Washington, D.C., on Monday, May 6, 1963, at 10:00 a.m., on subjects under investigation by the Committee and take such testimony on said day or succeeding days, as it may deem necessary.

Please make this action a matter of Committee record.

If any Member indicates his inability to serve, please notify me.

Given under my hand this 22nd day of April, 1963.

/s/ Francis E. Walter,
FRANCIS E. WALTER,
Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities.

Is your equipment ready, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, Mr. Willis.

Mr. WILLIS. Call your first witness and let us proceed.

Mr. NITTLE. Would Fred Jerome please come forward?

Mr. WILLIS. Please remain standing.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God.

Mr. JEROME. I so affirm.

Mr. JOHANSEN. What was the response?

Mr. WILLIS. He says he so affirms.

Proceed.

TESTIMONY OF FRED JEROME, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, JOSEPH FORER

Mr. NITTLE. Will you state your full name and residence for the record, Mr. Jerome?

Mr. JEROME. Before I say anything, I would like to state for the record I protest this committee's deliberately and inhumanly interrupting a honeymoon for me and my wife, despite a request on my part——

Mr. WILLIS. Answer the question.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. JEROME. My name is Fred Jerome. My permanent residence is in the process of being changed due to the fact that the committee interrupted the honeymoon. I can give you either the last permanent residence or the next permanent residence, but I am unable to give you more than that because the committee refused a request——

Mr. WILLIS. Give both if you care to.

Mr. NITTLE. What is your last permanent address?

Mr. JEROME. 320 Second Avenue, New York City.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. JEROME. Yes, I am.

Mr. NITTLE. Would counsel kindly identify himself for the record, stating his name and office address?

Mr. FORER. Joseph Forer, 711 14th Street, NW., Washington, D.C.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Jerome, have you heard the chairman's opening statement setting forth the subjects of inquiry?

Mr. JEROME. I have and I think it is a farce.

Mr. FORER. Incidentally, I was unable to make head or tail out of it because of the sort of monotone way it was read. I wonder if I could have a copy of it. It would help me to advise the witness.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Forer, from long experience you are aware that these statements are available.

Mr. WILLIS. Let the record show counsel is tendered a copy, although he has attended so many hearings of this committee the chances are he knows as much about it as I do.

Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Jerome, would you state the date and place of your birth?

Mr. JEROME. February 10, 1939, New York City.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you the son of V. J.—that is, Victor Jeremy—Jerome?

Mr. JEROME. Did you really interrupt my honeymoon just to ask me that?

Mr. NITTLE. Will you please answer the question?

Mr. JEROME. I am the son of V. J. Jerome. I think it is a public fact. I really don't think the committee has to call me here, all the way from New York, to ascertain what is a public fact.

Mr. NITTLE. We want to establish your identification for the purposes of the record.

Mr. JEROME. The committee has extensive investigative facilities to do that.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Jerome, would you relate the extent of your formal education, including the dates and places of attendance at educational institutions and any degrees you may have received?

Mr. JEROME. I graduated from Stuyvesant High School in New York City in 1955, with an honors diploma. Graduated from the City College of New York in 1960 magna cum laude, with a bachelor of arts.

Mr. NITTLE. While in attendance at City College of the City of New York, were you news editor of a college publication entitled *Campus*, and, if so, will you state the period you were associated with that publication?

Mr. JEROME. I think this whole thing is a farce. I heard the chairman's statement——

Mr. WILLIS. You know your rights. You have a good counsel. You may answer it or invoke the privileges available to you, if you invoke them properly. Please answer the question.

Mr. JEROME. I am trying to find out what the question has to do with the introductory statement of the chairman.

Mr. NITTLE. For purposes of background, which the Supreme Court has held to be relevant in any interrogation. Now, will you please answer the question?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. JEROME. Yes, I was.

Mr. NITTLE. What is your present occupation?

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Counsel, I think you asked for the dates; did you not?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I do not think he responded to that.

Mr. NITTLE. Thank you. You did not state the period during which you were the editor of the college publication.

Mr. JEROME. I don't believe you asked me if I was the editor.

Mr. NITTLE. News editor.

Mr. JEROME. I really don't recall the exact dates. I think the committee could subpena the newspaper files if they really want to know the dates. It was during some period in my undergraduate——

Mr. WILLIS. Could you assist us by saying approximately how long in terms of months or years?

Mr. JEROME. Approximately one semester, which is the normal period of the news editors of that publication.

Mr. NITTLE. What is your present occupation?

Mr. JEROME. I am an unemployed writer.

Mr. NITTLE. When were you last employed?

Mr. JEROME. Once again I want to say this committee is a fraud and the hearings are a farce. I don't see any relationship whatsoever between these questions and any possible legislative purpose. And I think that the committee is obviously afraid of having people visit Cuba and obviously trying to intimidate anybody who did visit Cuba, trying to prevent other Americans from doing the same. I just think that the American people ought to know what kind of joke this committee is turning Congress into.

Mr. WILLIS. Let us say you are the spokesman for people of that philosophy. But will you answer the question?

Mr. JEROME. Will you repeat the question?

Mr. NITTLE. When were you last employed?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. JEROME. I would like to refuse to answer that question and all other questions about my employment on the following grounds: First, because I think this hearing is a fraud. I don't think it has anything whatsoever to do with un-American activities.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, Mr. Jerome, would you kindly confine yourself to stating legal reasons for not testifying in response to this question? Your able counsel, I am sure, will advise you upon your constitutional rights.

Mr. JEROME. I think this is a valid reason.

Mr. NITTLE. Upon what constitutional provisions——

Mr. FORER. I think he is trying to say in a layman's way.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you claim any privilege not to respond?

Mr. FORER. His first reason is the language of legislative purpose as I interpret it.

Mr. NITTLE. They are adequately set forth in the chairman's statement.

Mr. FORER. He is disagreeing.

Mr. JEROME. I hope you don't mind listing my reasons for not answering. I understand that the few rights this committee allowed its witnesses was to state their reasons for refusing to answer. Maybe the committee is restricting witnesses' rights even further.

Mr. WILLIS. All right.

Mr. JEROME. The first reason is that I think this whole hearing is a farce and has nothing to do with un-American activities—except in so far as the committee is probably the most un-American thing in Congress.

Secondly, I think the committee itself is a fraud and has no basis for existence and is not at all interested in investigating un-American activities. If it were, I think it could look——

Mr. WILLIS. That is enough on that score. You go on to another point.

Mr. JEROME. I am not disturbing you by stating the reasons?

Mr. WILLIS. You are not disturbing anybody.

Mr. JEROME. I think certain members of the committee have no constitutional basis for even being in Congress.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman, I propose that we halt this line of answer right now. This is an old record that this committee has heard many times. You are not adding any information at all.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. JEROME. The next reason for refusing to answer is that I object strenuously to the fact that this committee, with no reason stated whatsoever, has seen fit to interrupt my honeymoon without even considering the possibility of granting a postponement when one was requested. My next reason for refusing to answer is that I refuse to cooperate in any way whatsoever with this committee. I refuse to become an informer for this committee or take any steps which might lead in that direction. This seems to be the purpose of this committee. I refuse to cooperate with those I consider to be un-American. I think a further reason is that I refuse to answer on the basis of the rights guaranteed to me by the first amendment of the Constitution, the rights of free speech, free association, and I refuse to answer on the basis of the rights guaranteed to me under the fifth amendment of the Constitution not to be compelled to be a witness against myself.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you been employed by the Communist Party?

Mr. JEROME. For a committee that thinks it is so important that I be here and interrupt my honeymoon, I think you are not listening at all to what I am saying. I just said I intend to refuse to answer all questions dealing with employment in the same way.

Mr. WILLIS. That will be satisfactory. You refuse to answer the question on the grounds previously stated, is that about it?

Mr. JEROME. That is about it, yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Jerome, as you may know, the United States severed relations with Cuba on January 3, 1961. Have you traveled to Cuba at any time since that date?

Mr. JEROME. No.

Mr. NITTLE. You state that you have not?

Mr. JEROME. I have not.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a copy of page 11 of the Communist Party publication, *The Worker*, dated May 14, 1961, marked for identifica-

tion as "Jerome Exhibit No. 1." I direct your attention to a notice appearing in the lower right-hand portion of that page.

The following appears therein:

EYEWITNESS TO CUBAN HISTORY

A report on 3 month trip by Fred Jerome, just returned from Cuba
Sun., May 14, 8 P.M. Polonia Club
201 Second Ave. Adm. 50¢,

Auspices: Lower E.S. Press Comm.

Now, Mr. Jerome, it is the committee's information that you are the Fred Jerome whose name appears on that *Worker* notice which has just been exhibited to you. Are you the Fred Jerome to whom reference is made in that notice?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. JEROME. It would have been good if the committee could have heard some of the people who come back from Cuba. It might have saved them a lot of time.

Mr. NITTLE. Will you please answer the question?

Mr. JEROME. I am going to refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated. I think it only further substantiates my position that this committee and this hearing are both frauds.

(Document marked "Jerome Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Did you appear at the Polonia Club at 201 Second Avenue, New York City, on Sunday, May 14, 1961, and deliver a talk or report on what you had seen during a recent trip to Cuba?

Mr. JEROME. Mr. Nittle, why is it that you seem to find it necessary to ask the same question six or seven different ways? I am intelligent enough——

Mr. NITTLE. We don't need you to tell us how to perform our duties. Will you please answer my question?

Mr. JEROME. You need somebody, I am afraid.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you appear at the Polonia Club on May 14, 1961, and deliver a talk or report on what you had seen during a recent trip to Cuba?

Mr. JEROME. I repeat my answer to the previous question.

Mr. NITTLE. The notice published in *The Worker* indicates that you were in Cuba for a period of 3 months just prior to May 14, 1961. Did you in fact visit Cuba at that time?

Mr. JEROME. At what time?

Mr. NITTLE. In 1961, just prior to May 14, 1961.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. JEROME. You seem to want to know when I was in Cuba or if I was in Cuba or when.

Mr. NITTLE. I am asking you if you visited Cuba in the year 1961. Did you, or did you not?

Mr. WILLIS. I think you asked for a period of 3 months.

Mr. JEROME. I did not visit Cuba in the year 1961, if you mean that I went to Cuba in the year 1961. If you want to know when I was in Cuba, I will tell you when I was in Cuba. If you want to insist on the technical phrasing of what I consider to be an inept question, the answer is that I did not go to Cuba in the year 1961, no.

Mr. NITTLE. When did you go to Cuba?

Mr. JEROME. I went to Cuba in the year 1960, February 1960. Again in 1960, October, and returned briefly, and returned to Cuba again in December 1960.

Mr. WILLIS. Were you there previously?

Mr. JEROME. The first time I was there was in February 1960, as I said.

Mr. NITTLE. When in December 1960 did you go to Cuba?

Mr. JEROME. If you want an exact date, I can't recall but it was around Christmas.

Mr. NITTLE. How long did you remain in Cuba?

Mr. JEROME. I remained in Cuba until April 10, 11, or 12, 1961.

Mr. NITTLE. So you were in fact in Cuba in December 1960, at or about Christmas, and remained in Cuba until April 10, 1961?

Mr. JEROME. I think that is what I said, yes.

Mr. NITTLE. From what port did you depart the United States?

Mr. JEROME. Which time?

Mr. NITTLE. When you left in December 1960.

Mr. JEROME. I believe it was New York, but it may have been Miami. I am really not sure.

Mr. NITTLE. By what means did you travel to Cuba at that time?

Mr. JEROME. Airplane.

Mr. NITTLE. What airline did you travel by?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. JEROME. I think it was Cubana. You speak of the last time?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Mr. JEROME. It was Cubana.

Mr. NITTLE. You traveled by Cubana Airlines out of Miami, Florida?

Mr. JEROME. It may have been out of New York.

Mr. NITTLE. It may have been out of New York?

Mr. JEROME. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know?

Mr. JEROME. I really don't recall.

Mr. NITTLE. When did you leave Cuba?

Mr. JEROME. I just told you, April 10 or 11 or 12 of 1961.

Mr. NITTLE. Where did you go after leaving Cuba on that date?

Mr. JEROME. Miami, Florida.

Mr. NITTLE. How did you travel to Miami, Florida?

Mr. JEROME. Cubana Airlines.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you register with the Swiss Embassy, which was serving the interests of the United States in Cuba after the severence of diplomatic relationships?

Mr. JEROME. I don't believe that is a legal requirement and I certainly don't see any relevance that question might have to the hearing and I think it is just another attempt to intimidate witnesses and people who might be interested in seeing the progress being made in Cuba for themselves.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you make application to the Swiss Embassy for a United States passport or travel permit to reenter the United States from Cuba?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. JEROME. No, I did not. I once again say there is no legal requirement to do so, and again it is just another attempt through fraud, intimidate, fraud and implication, intimidate witnesses and

people who might be interested in seeing Cuba themselves. I wonder what the committee is afraid of.

Mr. NITTLE. Will you please confine yourself to answering the question?

Mr. WILLIS. Ask the next question.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you not aware that the travel regulations of the State Department required a passport or entrance permit after January 16, 1961, in returning to the United States from Cuba, or any area for which a passport is required?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. JEROME. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you traveled to Cuba at any time subsequent to December 1960?

Mr. JEROME. Unfortunately, I have not.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the purpose of your travel to Cuba in December 1960?

Mr. JEROME. Once again I think that this committee is just trying to erect a wall of fear around travel to Cuba. I think people should be able to go to Cuba for whatever purpose they want. I think they should be able to go to Cuba for all purposes, to see, look around, find out what is going on. I think it wouldn't even hurt some of the committee members to go look around. Maybe they would learn something.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you travel to Cuba upon the advice or request of any Communist Party functionary?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. JEROME. No.

Mr. NITTLE. By whom were arrangements made for your travel to Cuba?

Mr. JEROME. By myself.

Mr. NITTLE. Who paid your expenses of travel?

Mr. JEROME. I did.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you at that time on the payroll of the Communist Party?

Mr. JEROME. Mr. Nittle, you interrupted my honeymoon. You found it unnecessary and you find yourself unable——

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Jerome——

Mr. JEROME. You repeat a question for no reason whatsoever. If you asked me that question once, you asked it twice. Now you asked me a third time. Have you ever been on a honeymoon? Maybe I should withdraw the question. I don't want to embarrass you.

Mr. NITTLE. It is unfortunate that your comments——

Mr. WILLIS. Did he answer the question?

Mr. JEROME. I answered the question twice before.

Mr. WILLIS. Not that question.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Will counsel repeat it?

Mr. NITTLE. Will the reporter read the question, please?

(The question was read by the reporter.)

Mr. JEROME. I refused to answer that question before for the grounds stated and I just simply repeat the same statement.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you, in the United States, receive any information, or any matter or thing, that you were requested to impart or deliver to persons in Cuba?

Mr. JEROME. Will you repeat that? I am not sure I understand it.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you, in the United States, receive any information, or any matter or thing, that you were requested to impart or deliver to persons in Cuba?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. JEROME. I am not sure I understand what the purport of the question is. If you are asking if I was a courier for someone, the answer is no.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you, in Cuba, receive any information, or any matter or thing, that you were requested to impart or deliver to persons in the United States known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. JEROME. That seems like an awfully loaded question. I wonder if you could not maybe break it down and ask one question at a time.

(At this point Mr. Tuck left the hearing room.)

Mr. NITTLE. I think the question is a fairly simple and direct question. Answer it however you wish.

Mr. JEROME. I received many impressions while I was in Cuba and when I returned I received many requests to impart the information about the impressions that I received. I received some impressions that in Cuba, for example——

Mr. NITTLE. Just a moment. The question was whether you received anything that you were requested to deliver or impart to persons in the United States known to you to be members of the Communist Party.

Mr. JEROME. That is why I said it was a loaded question.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. FORER. I think he was trying to answer the question.

Mr. WILLIS. No, he was not.

Mr. FORER. He said answer it any way you wanted, break it down.

Mr. WILLIS. Counsel, you of all people know the rules of this committee. You know what the question is. It is restricted to the last part.

Mr. FORER. That is what Mr. Nittle said.

Mr. JEROME. If you are only interested in the last part, maybe he should only ask the last part and why ask the first part?

Mr. WILLIS. That is all the question has to do with. Will you repeat the question last and finally?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir. Did you, in Cuba, receive any information, or any matter or thing, that you were requested to impart or deliver to persons in the United States known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. JEROME. I refuse to answer the last part of that question for the reasons stated, and I think it shows even more——

Mr. WILLIS. The next question.

Mr. JEROME. The attempt of this committee——

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Jerome, it is the committee's information that certain United States citizens traveling to Cuba are called upon by Cuban officials to answer a questionnaire, posing such questions as relate to one's past and present political affiliations, personal experience in the underground struggle, positions in government occupied by one or one's friends, offices in labor unions or cultural or social groups,

police organizations and investigative agencies of one's area of residence, names of smugglers with whom one may have come in contact, government control of borders in one's region, whether one can obtain personal identification documents for cash, where military or naval bases are located in one's region, and other questions of like tenor. Were such questions posed to you in Cuba?

Mr. JEROME. Why are you trying to create a smoke screen around the attempts of this committee to set up a wall to prevent Americans from seeing what is going on?

Mr. WILLIS. He is not restricting his statement to your experience.

Mr. JEROME. I realize that.

Mr. WILLIS. He is relating it as applicable to all, is that true?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. JEROME. That is exactly my point. He is trying to prevent all Americans from going to Cuba. The committee is trying to prevent all Americans from having an opportunity to see for themselves.

Mr. WILLIS. You are ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. JEROME. Would you repeat the question?

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Jerome, I will repeat the question once more and ask you to pay attention to the question. It will not be repeated again.

Mr. Reporter, would you kindly read the question?

(The question was read by the reporter.)

Mr. WILLIS. That is a very simple question. Were such questions posed to you. That is the question.

Mr. JEROME. No.

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed.

Mr. NITTLE. Immediately upon return to the United States, the notice which appeared in *The Worker*—Exhibit No. 1 shown to you—indicated that you spoke publicly as an eyewitness to Cuban history. Did you make this speech at the direction or request of any person known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. JEROME. If that is not a loaded question, I never heard one. Why don't you ask one question at a time?

Mr. WILLIS. He is simply asking you if you made that speech on the suggestion or instructions of persons known by you to be members of the Communist Party.

Mr. JEROME. I realize that, but it has not yet been established that I made that speech. I think, therefore, it is a loaded question. I don't see why this congressional committee, they are intelligent people——

Mr. NITTLE. Did you make a speech?

Mr. JEROME. Is it against the law to speak? Is it un-American?

Mr. NITTLE. I ask that the witness be directed to answer the question, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. JEROME. I believe I already gave several reasons for refusing to answer that question or one very similar to it. And I would like to repeat those reasons and reemphasize the fact that this is invasion of my right of free speech as guaranteed to me under the first amendment and as the committee, the same way the committee has attempted to invade the rights of practically every witness they have brought before them.

Mr. NITTLE. Was it one of your purposes in visiting Cuba to establish yourself as a firsthand eyewitness to events and conditions there so that you could serve more effectively in this country as a propagandist for the Communist regime of Fidel Castro?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. JEROME. No.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the purpose of your trip, then?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. JEROME. I think you asked me that question before, too, and I think I said before that this committee's attempts at these questions are just a way of trying to prevent people from finding out what is going on in Cuba. I think the committee would do well to find out for itself what is going on in Cuba instead of conducting these inane investigations. I think when you asked me that question before the record will show that I refused to answer that question for the reasons stated, and all I can say is that I will continue to repeat that as long as you continue to repeat the same questions.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you registered, or applied for registration, with the Attorney General under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. JEROME. The answer is no, and I don't see any reason to. And I don't think I have to.

Mr. NITTLE. The notice indicates that your report to be delivered at the Polonia Club was under the auspices of the Lower East Side Press Committee. Are you a member of the Lower East Side Press Committee?

Mr. JEROME. I really think that you could have at least allowed me to have a honeymoon before you brought me down to ask me this kind of question. Is it that important a question that it couldn't have waited a week or two to ask me if I am a member of this or that? Do you want me to become this type of witness?

Mr. WILLIS. Are you a member of that press committee?

Mr. JEROME. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds cited.

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed.

Mr. NITTLE. Through whom did you make arrangements to speak under the auspices of the Lower East Side Press Committee?

Mr. JEROME. Let me just say I am not going to answer any questions with relation to that organization or any other organization for the grounds cited, particularly I don't want to become a stool pigeon for this committee, which I consider to be totally un-American.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the witness be directed to answer the question.

Mr. WILLIS. He invoked the reasons previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you invoke the fifth amendment of the Constitution in refusing to answer the last posed question?

Mr. JEROME. On all the grounds previously cited.

Mr. WILLIS. Including that one, necessarily. That is the way I understand him.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Jerome, it is the committee's information that at the age of 14 you were a member of the Labor Youth League. Were you then, or at any time, a member of the Labor Youth League?

Mr. JEROME. I could say something about the committee's information but I won't bother. I understand that this hearing had to do

with Cuba and I understand from the chairman's report that it had to do with something going on at the present time. At least with organizations that exist at the present time. I really think that this question is so totally irrelevant that even under the committee's stretched version of the rules there is no place for it.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I ask that the chairman direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. WILLIS. I direct you to answer that question.

Mr. JEROME. As I said before, I refuse to answer that question or any question about any organization for the grounds previously cited. You are not going to turn me or most witnesses you bring before you into cooperators with un-Americans.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Jerome, you cannot plead the fifth amendment in advance of the question posed to you.

Mr. JEROME. I am putting you on notice so you won't waste your time or my time. I think you might save yourselves some time.

Mr. NITTLE. The Subversive Activities Control Board in a report and order of February 15, 1955, after hearings under the Internal Security Act of 1950, found that the Labor Youth League was a Communist-front organization created at a conference in Chicago on May 28 and 29, 1949, and controlled by the Communist Party. It further found, and I quote:

> The Labor Youth League is the principal means whereby a segment of American youth is indoctrinated and trained for dedicated membership and future positions of leadership in the Party. It is also the means whereby these individuals are put into active service in support and in aid of Communist Party policies and objectives.

You were aware, were you not, Mr. Jerome, at the time of your membership in that organization that it was a Communist created and controlled group?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. JEROME. That sounds very loaded to me. I am not sure I understand. You are asking me three questions at once, or just exactly what do you want to know?

Mr. WILLIS. Answer the question, please.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. JEROME. Could you repeat the question?

Mr. NITTLE. Were you aware at the time of your membership in the Labor Youth League that it was a Communist created and controlled group?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. JEROME. I don't think it has been established that I ever was a member of the Labor Youth League. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds cited. I think it was just the previous question. I am sure you remember that, Mr. Nittle.

Mr. NITTLE. It is the committee's further information that for some time prior to 1958 you, together with Jacob Rosen, contributed articles relating to youth activities for publication in the Communist *Daily Worker*. Did you make such contributions to the *Daily Worker*?

Mr. JEROME. Once again I think this is totally irrelevant to any purpose the committee has. I can't understand how you can keep a straight face while you conduct this hearing.

Mr. NITTLE. If you desire a statement of pertinency, I think the chairman in his opening statement has made clear that we are investigating Communist propaganda activities.

Mr. WILLIS. That is abundantly clear in the record.

Mr. JEROME. You are just run out of things to investigate. Why don't you investigate what is going on in Birmingham, Alabama, or do you think that some of the committee or people on the committee would not be reelected? What could be more un-American than police dogs being unleashed on 6-year-old children?

Mr. WILLIS. I direct you to answer that question.

Mr. JEROME. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds cited and, in addition to that, I would like to refuse to answer on the basis that it is a clear attempt——

Mr. NITTLE. We do not require further grounds than your fifth amendment.

Mr. JEROME. That is under the first amendment, freedom of press.

Mr. NITTLE. Is it not a matter of knowledge to you that an individual is required to be under, and to accept, the discipline of the Communist Party in undertaking such work?

Mr. JEROME. Could you explain which part of that question you want me to answer?

Mr. NITTLE. Let us make it very simple for you. Were you during the time stated, in the year 1958, and for some short time prior thereto, under the discipline of the Communist Party?

Mr. JEROME. That is really what you wanted to know. That is why you interrupted my honeymoon to bring me down and ask me if I was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. We are more concerned about the honeymoons that the boys can't take who are now serving in the Armed Forces of the United States in South Vietnam and other trouble spots.

Mr. JEROME. Why don't you bring them back? Why don't you investigate what they are doing in South Vietnam in chemical warfare?

Mr. WILLIS. Answer the question.

Mr. JEROME. I refuse to answer that question, as I said I would, and as I will continue to do for all questions regarding organizations, for the reasons cited.

Mr. NITTLE. The Fifth World Youth Festival was staged in Warsaw, Poland, from July 31 to August 14, 1955, under the auspices of the Moscow-controlled World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students. The committee's investigation, Mr. Jerome, reveals that you were in attendance at the Fifth World Youth Festival held in Warsaw in 1955. Did you in fact attend the Fifth World Youth Festival in Warsaw?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. JEROME. At the previous hearing of this committee dealing with those festivals, the committee seemed to find themselves unwilling to let me testify about the festival. They wouldn't even let me finish responding to the first question asked me. I certainly think if they were unwilling to let me testify last time that it seems sort of a joke to drag me all the way down here to testify this time. Isn't there any consistency to this committee, bad as it is?

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Chairman, I ask you to direct the witness to answer.

Mr. JOHANSEN (presiding). I direct the witness to respond to the question.

Mr. JEROME. I would like to refuse to answer that question on the following grounds: In the first place, I refuse to cooperate——

Mr. NITTLE. Just a minute, Mr. Jerome.

Mr. JOHANSEN. The witness has amply stated his reasons for declining to answer and he can respond simply by reaffirming the previous grounds.

Mr. JEROME. I believe they are different grounds.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Do the grounds include the first and fifth amendments?

Mr. JEROME. Would you like to hear the grounds or not?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. JEROME. I would like to decline to answer that question on the grounds stated and also other grounds which I consider to be most important and which I think the committee doesn't feel that they want to hear.

Mr. JOHANSEN. The next question, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Jerome, were you issued a United States passport on June 13, 1955?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. JEROME. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. In your application of June 13, 1955, for a United States passport, did you not list England and France, only, as your places of travel and then state that your purpose was that of sightseeing?

Mr. JEROME. Why didn't you ask me these questions 3 years ago when I was subpenaed, instead of dismissing me before I had a chance to respond to them?

Mr. JOHANSEN. The witness will answer the question.

Mr. JEROME. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Did your passport contain a restriction prohibiting its use for travel to Communist Poland?

Mr. JEROME. Another example of the efforts of the Government of this country to prevent American citizens from finding out the truth. Yes, it did.

Mr. NITTLE. At the time you made application for that passport, was it not your principal purpose to visit Poland for attendance at the Fifth World Youth Festival which was to be held July 31 to August 14, 1955?

Mr. JEROME. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you in fact visit Poland in July and August of 1955?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. JEROME. That is a long way from Cuba. I think my refusal to answer the question about the Youth Festival is the fact that this committee would not let me state my additional reasons, the fact that this committee would not let me testify during the hearings devoted to questions of the Youth Festival. I can simply repeat them all. I think the less this committee can do would let me to indicate my full reasons for refusing to answer, but obviously is not interested in that. It does not seem to be interested in anything except dragging me down here from my honeymoon.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Has the witness answered the outstanding question?

Mr. NITTLE. No. I respectfully request he be directed to answer.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I so direct.

Mr. JEROME. I believe I answered. My reasons include the reasons I stated before, the fact that the committee did not want me to testify before and is not sufficient in additional reasons.

Mr. NITTLE. It is sufficient for you to state—and it is the only ground that the committee recognizes for your refusal to answer the question—that you refuse to answer on the basis of the self-incrimination clause of the fifth amendment. Do you plead that?

Mr. JEROME. I plead many grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you plead that particular one?

Mr. JEROME. Even if the committee does not recognize them all, I think they are valid and the committee recognizes not my criteria for validity. I stated my grounds before and I repeat all my grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I request the witness be directed to answer the question whether he includes the self-incrimination clause of the fifth amendment in refusing to respond to the questions.

Mr. WILLIS. I assume you do, frankly, but it is a proper question, and therefore I direct you to answer it.

Mr. JEROME. The answer is clear; it is yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, Mr. Jerome, this committee on May 25, 1956, held hearings with respect to the attendance of Americans at this Fifth World Youth Festival. The hearings revealed that several Americans who participated in this Warsaw festival were Communist Party members and that the American delegates appeared there under aliases because travel to Poland and other Iron Curtain countries was forbidden by this country at that time. Did you assume an alias to conceal your attendance at the Fifth World Youth Festival?

Mr. JEROME. That is a loaded question?

Mr. NITTLE. Did you, or did you not?

Mr. JEROME. Did I, did I not—did I assume an alias, did I attend the Youth Festival?

Mr. NITTLE. Did you assume an alias so as to conceal your attendance at the Fifth World Youth Festival?

Mr. JEROME. It has not been established that I attended the Fifth World Youth Festival.

Mr. WILLIS. Answer the question.

Mr. JEROME. Which part of the question?

Mr. NITTLE. Did you assume an alias in attending the festival?

Mr. JEROME. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds. This committee has very slim pickings if it has to go all the way back there.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Jerome, although the Fifth World Youth Festival was ostensibly staged "for peace and friendship," it has been documented at an earlier hearing of this committee that the International Preparatory Committee, which regulated festival activities, distributed a report at the festival charging American troops in Korea with various atrocities. This report stated in part:

> Besides shooting and stabbing with knives, Americans killed the KPA POW's [that is, the North Korean Army prisoners of war] by driving over them with tanks, throwing them into vats of boiling water, unleashing vicious dogs upon them, drowning, beating, starving and freezing to death, and other such horrible methods.
>
> But the American barbarians were not satisfied by merely killing. In order to intimidate the prisoners of war, they forced them to witness the execution of friends who were hanged. They then made both civilians and POW's watch while they cut these dead bodies to pieces.

Did you, Mr. Jerome, protest the dissemination of such falsehoods at any meetings of the festival?

Mr. JEROME. I certainly hope it is not true. It would be a terrible thing if Americans allowed something like that to happen. But judging from the behavior of this committee, I think it might be possible.

Mr. NITTLE. I asked the question whether you protested the dissemination of such falsehoods at the Warsaw Youth Festival.

Mr. JEROME. I think that this committee and the question it is asking are reminiscent of the worst aspects of nazism. I think I have already pointed out that this question and many others like it are loaded questions, are three questions in one. I refuse to answer the question about the Youth Festival. I think this committee is well aware of that fact. The questions here have nothing to do with any legislative purpose regarding Cuba. Fidel Castro was not even in the mountains of Cuba in 1955. How far can you stretch these hearings? Does not the committee have anything to do with the taxpayers' money——

Mr. WILLIS. He declines to answer. Proceed.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Jerome, the Sixth World Youth Festival was staged in Moscow from July 28 to August 11, 1957, two years after the Fifth Festival in Poland. American preparations for the festival were mainly coordinated through an organization known as the U.S. Youth Festival Committee, Post Office Box 5793, Main Post Office, Chicago, Illinois. The New York branch of the U.S. Youth Festival Committee conducted its business through Post Office Box 975, New York 1, New York. The individual who made application to the United States Post Office for this box, 975, did so under the name of Walter Hirsch. Do you know Walter Hirsch?

Mr. JEROME. Don't you get tired of asking these questions? I have said before I am not going to be an informer for this committee or for anyone else. I think that the type of questions being asked indicate that is what the committee wants and that is all the committee wants. The committee has brought unrepentant Nazis before it to testify about the Youth Festival. If they like the Nazis' testimony so much you should go by the Nazis' testimony.

Mr. WILLIS. I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. JEROME. I decline to answer the question for the reasons stated before.

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a copy, Mr. Jerome, of an International News Service dispatch, under the by-line of Jack Lotto, entitled "Pro-Reds Recruit U.S. Youths To Attend 'Festival' in Moscow." This dispatch was published, among other newspapers, in the *Washington Post* of July 19, 1957, at page A–6, which I have just handed you, marked for identification as "Jerome Exhibit No. 2."

I quote from the dispatch:

> International News Service learned today that the East Coast recruiting agent for the Festival Committee operated under the alias of "Walter Hirsch." His "office" was a post office box.
>
> Actually "Hirsch" is Fred Jerome, 19, student-editor at City College of New York, and son of V. J. Jerome, "cultural commissar" of the U.S. Communist Party, just released from prison.

Is the information contained in this report correct, Mr. Jerome?

Mr. JEROME. You really could have asked me these questions 3 years ago.

Mr. WILLIS. I direct you to answer that question.

Mr. JEROME. I think you already know and, if you don't know, I will tell you I refuse to answer the question on the grounds stated. It is a waste of time.

(Document marked "Jerome Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Jerome, did you not make application in early 1957 for a post office box, upon official forms provided by the U.S. Post Office, under the fictitious name of Walter Hirsch, pursuant to which you were assigned Box No. 975?

Mr. JEROME. In 1957 Batista was murdering thousands of Cubans in Cuba.

Mr. WILLIS. I direct you to answer that question.

Mr. JEROME. I think I have already given my grounds for refusal to answer. This is pretty much exactly the same as the previous question. My answer is the same.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a photostatic copy of that application for Post Office Box 975, filed on January 3, 1957, marked for identification as "Jerome Exhibit No. 3." Does not that document bear the signature of the alleged applicant, "Walter Hirsch," and give his residence address as care of Jerome, 320 Second Avenue, Zone 3, New York?

Mr. JEROME. That is totally irrelevant to the purpose of this hearing or any possible purpose these hearings can have. I just want to repeat it, repeat it, and repeat it.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, may I make a statement to this witness of the pertinency of these particular questions?

Mr. WILLIS. I think it has been set out. I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. JEROME. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Jerome Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. 320 Second Avenue, New York City, is where you lived at that time; is it not?

Mr. JEROME. I refuse on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. The application, Exhibit 3, lists Mr. Jacob Rosen and Mr. Fred Jerome as references for "Walter Hirsch." The character of the business stated on the application is "personal mail." Are you not the "Walter Hirsch" who signed this application?

Mr. JEROME. Didn't you just ask me that question?

Mr. JOHANSEN (presiding). The witness will answer the question.

Mr. JEROME. I refuse to answer the question on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you not also sign the reference as "Fred Jerome"?

Mr. JEROME. This is a terrible waste of time and waste of taxpayers' money. I think you should have something more vital to ask.

Mr. NITTLE. Will you please answer the question?

Mr. JEROME. I am trying to answer it and give you my reaction to the best of my ability. I just think it is a farce.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the witness be directed to answer.

Mr. WILLIS. You are directed to answer.

Mr. JEROME. I decline to answer on account of the same grounds, particularly this whole committee and the hearings are a joke.

Mr. NITTLE. Although you described the character of the business for which the postal box application was made as "personal mail," did you not in fact intend this box for the conduct of business correspondence in connection with the Sixth World Youth Festival?

Mr. JEROME. I think in any court of law that question would be thrown out because it makes assumptions that are not at all proved or conceded by the witness. I realize this is not a court of law and I realize that the rules are much more flexible. It is certainly a loaded question.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Did you use the box for that purpose stated by counsel?

Mr. JEROME. I don't think it has been established that I used the box at all.

Mr. WILLIS. I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. JEROME. I decline to answer on the same grounds. It is getting very tiring.

Mr. NITTLE. I have likewise handed to you a photostatic copy of a United States Post Office form entitled "Verification of Reference of Applicant for Box"—That is marked for identification as "Jerome Exhibit No. 4"—upon which appears the statement to the postal authorities that you, Fred Jerome, as a reference for Walter Hirsch, declare that the applicant, Walter Hirsch, is "very reliable and trustworthy."

Mr. Jerome, did you thus certify, under your true name, to your own character under the fictitious name of Walter Hirsch?

Mr. JEROME. Mr. Nittle, I really think you should have something better——

Mr. WILLIS. I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. JEROME. My answer is the same to the previous question and the previous question and previous question and for the next questions for the next couple of hours.

(Document marked "Jerome Exhibit No. 4" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed, Mr. Nittle.

Mr. NITTLE. Now I want you to examine again Exhibit No. 3, which lists, in addition to you, one Jacob Rosen as a reference for "Walter Hirsch." Do you know Jacob Rosen?

Mr. JEROME. I said before that I don't intend to be a finger man for this committee and I am not going to do it no matter how many times you ask me about names, no matter how many people you ask me, no matter how much it annoys the honorable members of this committee.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you in attendance with Jacob Rosen at City College of New York?

Mr. JEROME. I just said I am not going to be a finger man for this committee or stool pigeon for this committee and I am going to repeat it again and again. I am sorry it annoys you, but it is the questions that are forcing the answer.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Counsel, I think both the pending and immediate preceding questions have not been answered.

Mr. NITTLE. That is correct. I respectfully request that the witness be directed to answer both questions, first, Whether he knows Jacob Rosen, and the second, Whether he was in attendance with Jacob Rosen at the City College of New York.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. JEROME. Whom are you requesting that of?

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Jacob Rosen, Mr. Jerome?

Mr. JEROME. I repeat my grounds for refusal to answer.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you become acquainted with Jacob Rosen while in attendance at City College of New York?

Mr. JEROME. The same thing.

Mr. NITTLE. On February 3, 1960, in hearings before this committee, Albert Gaillard testified that he joined the Communist Party in January 1957 and in the course of his membership he knew Jacob Rosen as a member of the Communist Party with whom he had met at Communist Party meetings. On the same day Mr. Rosen was called to testify and invoked the fifth amendment when asked whether his identification as a Communist Party member by Albert Gaillard was true.

Mr. Jerome, do you not know Jacob Rosen to be a member of the Communist Party at the time he served with you on the Youth Festival Committee in New York?

Mr. JEROME. I was called to testify that very same day and I think if you look over your record you see I was called to testify that day and the committee did not let me testify that day. Since that is the day you are talking about, I certainly think you ought to examine why you did not let me testify that day and you are so anxious to testify today and to drag me from New York.

Mr. WILLIS. You are now given a chance. You answer the question.

Mr. JEROME. It is a loaded question. In spite of the fact it is a loaded question, I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. I now hand you a copy of a letter bearing return address of Post Office Box 975, New York 1, New York, dated March 11, 1957, marked for identification as "Jerome Exhibit No. 5." This is a letter addressed to an individual living in New York, whose identity has been blacked out by the committee, with which you enclosed an application blank for the Sixth World Youth Festival and a list of student activities to be conducted at the festival. It is signed by "Walter Hirsch."

Is it not a fact, Mr. Jerome, that you are the signer of the letter?

Mr. JEROME. Did you say I enclosed something with that letter?

Mr. NITTLE. I asked you whether or not you were the signer of that letter which has been exhibited to you.

Mr. JEROME. This part of the question.

Mr. WILLIS. The simple question is, Did you sign this letter?

Mr. JEROME. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Jerome Exhibit No. 5" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. On January 23, 1957, did you not apply for a U.S. passport with the purpose in mind of attending the Sixth World Youth Festival in Moscow?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. JEROME. I think there are two questions involved there, but you have raised it that way. I refuse to answer.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you on January 23, 1957, apply for a U.S. passport? Now, will you answer that?

Mr. JEROME. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you apply for that passport with the purpose in mind of visiting the Sixth World Youth Festival in Moscow?

Mr. JEROME. Once again I think it is irrelevant and I don't want to go into the whole business again. I think the committee knows it is irrelevant, but I refuse to answer the question on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Was not your application then denied by the Department of State pursuant to regulations prohibiting the issuance or use of passports to persons who support the world Communist movement, of which the Communist Party of the United States is an integral unit?

Mr. JEROME. Can't you subpena someone from the State Department to find that out?

Mr. WILLIS. Was your application rejected?

Mr. NITTLE. For that reason?

Mr. JEROME. Which is the question? For that reason?

Mr. NITTLE. The chairman's question, respond to that first, of course.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. FORER. You want him to to testify what the reason of the State Department was?

Mr. JOHANSEN. The question was whether the application was denied.

Mr. JEROME. Yes, it was. It is another infringement of the rights of American citizens and the whole Government has been operating that way, with this committee in the forefront.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Jerome, are you now, as of this moment, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. JEROME. That seems to be your favorite question. I think you have heard the answer to that question enough times to know that my refusal to answer the previous questions holds true for this question, too, and for all questions about organizations. I really think this committee ought to look into some un-American activities and investigate.

Mr. WILLIS. Answer the question.

Mr. JEROME. I just did. I refuse to answer that question for the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. There are no further questions by the staff, Mr. Chairman, of this witness.

Mr. WILLIS. The witness is excused.

Mr. FORER. Where does he go for his voucher?

Mr. WILLIS. The committee will stand in recess for not over 5 minutes.

(Brief recess.)

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will be in order.

Call your next witness.

Mr. NITTLE. Would Elizabeth Sutherland please come forward?

Mr. LONDON. She left the room, but she is here, Mr. Chairman. I will have her paged. She will be back in just a moment, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. That is fine.

Miss Sutherland, please raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, EPHRAIM LONDON

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state your full name and residence for the record, please?

Miss SUTHERLAND. My name, full name, is Elizabeth Sutherland Martinez. I use the name "Elizabeth Sutherland" for professional purposes. I live at 146 East 97th Street, New York City.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you represented by counsel?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes, I am.

Mr. NITTLE. Would counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. LONDON. I have already done so for the record. The name is Ephraim London.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state your office address?

Mr. LONDON. 1 East 44th Street, New York City.

Mr. NITTLE. Miss Sutherland, what is your marital status?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I am divorced.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you please state the date and place of your birth?

Miss SUTHERLAND. December 12, 1925, Washington, D.C.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you relate the extent of your formal education, stating the names of educational institutions you have attended and the dates of your attendance?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I graduated from Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School in June 1946. I attended Swarthmore College from 1942 to—I am sorry. I am sorry, I beg your pardon. I graduated from Swarthmore College in June 1946. Yes, that is right. Before, I attended Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you receive a degree from Swarthmore?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes, I did; bachelor of arts.

Mr. NITTLE. What is your present occupation?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I am an editor at Simon and Schuster publishing house in New York City.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you describe yourself as the "senior editor" of Simon and Schuster?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I am certainly not the senior editor.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you ever been the senior editor of Simon and Schuster, Incorporated?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I beg your pardon. You said the senior editor?

Mr. NITTLE. Have you ever been senior editor of Simon and Schuster?

Miss SUTHERLAND. We have a number of senior editors.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you call yourself a senior editor?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you a senior editor?
Miss SUTHERLAND. Could you repeat the question?
Miss NITTLE. Are you a senior editor?
Miss SUTHERLAND. I am a senior editor.
Mr. NITTLE. Is that your official designation?
Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes, I suppose.
(Witness conferred with counsel.)
Miss SUTHERLAND. There are assistant editors at Simon and Schuster also, which is the reason for the title "senior editor."
Mr. NITTLE. But you have used the designation "senior editor" in official correspondence upon the business stationery of Simon and Schuster, have you not?
Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.
Mr. NITTLE. You are an editor of Simon and Schuster, which is a firm of publishers, is it not, which maintains its address at Rockefeller Center, 630 Fifth Avenue, New York City 20, New York?
Miss SUTHERLAND. That is correct.
Mr. NITTLE. How long have you been thus employed?
Miss SUTHERLAND. I have been there since May of 1948 or '49.
Mr. NITTLE. Did you have a prior employment?
Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.
Mr. NITTLE. What was your prior employment?
Miss SUTHERLAND. I was employed at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City as administrative assistant to the director of the photography department.
Mr. NITTLE. Would you briefly summarize your duties as senior editor for the firm of Simon and Schuster?
Miss SUTHERLAND. As a senior editor at Simon and Schuster I am employed to find publishable manuscripts, work with authors on their books where editing is necessary, to supervise the production of those books from the time they come in as manuscripts until they are finished books; also to do some work in connection with publicizing and advertising those books.
Mr. NITTLE. As senior editor, are you authorized to engage in preliminary negotiations with authors, photographers, or writers in connection with books published by your firm?
Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.
Mr. NITTLE. Have you ever used any name other than Elizabeth Sutherland in your business correspondence?
Miss SUTHERLAND. No, not to the best of my knowledge; no.
Mr. NITTLE. Do you use the name Elizabeth Sutherland in your social activities?
Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.
Mr. NITTLE. Was Sutherland your maiden name?
Miss SUTHERLAND. No, it is my legal middle name.
Mr. NITTLE. Was it the name of a prior husband?
Miss SUTHERLAND. No. It was my mother's middle name also. It is a family name.
Mr. NITTLE. Under what name are you registered for employment and social security purposes?
Miss SUTHERLAND. Elizabeth Sutherland.

Mr. NITTLE. What name do you use for legal purposes, such as negotiation, possibly, of contracts with authors and photographers?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Elizabeth Sutherland.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you at any time subsequent to January 3, 1961, applied for or received a passport from the Department of State of the United States?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. When did you make that application?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I don't remember exactly. It was, I think, in the spring or early summer 1961, and also previously.

Mr. NITTLE. Under what name did you make application for the passport?

Miss SUTHERLAND. That is the one case in which I have used my full name, Elizabeth Sutherland Martinez, which is the name that appears on my birth certificate.

Mr. NITTLE. Was this the only occasion for official purposes for which you have used the name Elizabeth Sutherland Martinez?

Miss SUTHERLAND. It is to to the best of my knowledge. I may have forgotten, but I cannot remember.

Mr. NITTLE. What made you depart from your usual practice of using the name Elizabeth Sutherland in this instance?

Miss SUTHERLAND. In order to obtain a passport one submits a birth certificate, and this is my legal name on my birth certificate.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you at any time since January 3, 1961, obtained a passport validated for travel to Cuba?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. When did you obtain that validation?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I obtained the validation in early August. The passport was validated for one round trip to Cuba to begin on August 10, 1961, and to extend not later than September 10, 1961.

Mr. NITTLE. Pursuant to that application for validation for travel to Cuba from August 10 to September 10, 1961, did you travel, in fact, to Cuba?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes, I did.

Mr. NITTLE. When did you depart from the United States?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I am sorry; I don't remember the exact date. It was, I believe, close to August 10th.

Mr. NITTLE. By what means did you depart from the United States for Cuba?

Miss SUTHERLAND. By airline via Miami.

Mr. NITTLE. What airline did you use?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I don't remember the domestic airline. I believe the airline from Miami to Cuba was KLM.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you go directly to Cuba from Miami?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes, I did.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you travel to any other parts of this hemisphere after receiving that passport, in addition to Cuba, during the year 1961?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. When you requested validation of your passport for travel to Cuba, what did you state was the purpose of your visit to Cuba?

Miss SUTHERLAND. The purpose of my visit was to write an article for the magazine *Film Quarterly* on the new Cuban films.

Mr. NITTLE. To do what?

Miss SUTHERLAND. To write an article for the magazine *Film Quarterly* on recent Cuban films.

Mr. NITTLE. By whom is *Film Quarterly* published?

Miss SUTHERLAND. It is sponsored by the University of California Press.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you permitted, while employed at Simon and Schuster, to devote your attention to other occupations or employments?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Oh, yes. Well, if you mean free-lance writing, for example, certainly.

Mr. NITTLE. That was your stated purpose?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. I now hand you a photostatic copy of page 11 of the pro-Communist *National Guardian* dated December 4, 1961, marked for identification as "Sutherland Exhibit No. 1."

You will note thereon, at the bottom of the left-hand column, under the principal heading "CALENDAR," a notice that appears as follows:

CUBA'S CONGRESS of WRITERS & ARTISTS: a report by Elizabeth Sutherland, an observer at the Congress, followed by a panel discussion with added participation of Irving Rosenthal and Howard Schulman, Monday, December 4, 8:30 p.m., Adelphi Hall, 74 5th Av., Ausp: Fair Play for Cuba Committee, Speakers Bureau, Contribution 75c.

Did you on December 4 deliver the report announced in that account?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I am not certain, frankly, about the date, but I did deliver such a report at such a place under those auspices sometime that winter.

(Document marked "Sutherland Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. I also hand you a photostatic copy of page 6 of the official Communist publication *The Worker*, dated November 28, 1961, marked for identification as "Sutherland Exhibit No. 2."

I call your attention to the lower left-hand column or portion of that page, under the column entitled "What's On," where you will note that a notice appears identical to that which appeared in the *National Guardian*, Exhibit No. 1. These notices, apparently published for the edification of Communists and pro-Communists, indicated that you were an observer at the Cuban Congress of Writers and Artists.

Were you in attendance in Cuba at the Congress of Writers and Artists?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. No, I did not go to Cuba to attend this Congress, if I understand your question correctly.

(Document marked "Sutherland Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Did you, in fact, attend the Cuban Writers and Artists Congress?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I observed a number of their meetings as a completely informal visitor. I was not invited to the Congress, nor did I have any official status there.

Mr. NITTLE. By the way, did you publish an article for the University of California *Film Quarterly* when you returned?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes, I wrote my report and it was published in the winter of 1961–62 issue.

Mr. NITTLE. These notices of a panel discussion and a report by you, which appeared in the pro-Communist *National Guardian* and *The Worker*—did these notices appear with your knowledge and consent?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. To tell you the truth, this is the first time I have seen this notice.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you have knowledge whether these notices appeared in any non-Communist publication?

Miss SUTHERLAND. The only other publicity given to this little talk that I know of was a mailing piece which went to members of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. I don't know of any other announcement. But since I have never seen these before, there may have been others.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you not a member of the Speakers Bureau of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee under whose auspices this report was delivered?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No, I am not.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you a member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No, I am not a member.

Mr. NITTLE. By whom were you contacted to deliver this report on the Cuban Congress of Writers and Artists?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I believe the chairman of the committee called and asked me to speak on this subject.

Mr. NITTLE. Who was that?

Miss SUTHERLAND. The chairman of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee at that time was Richard Gibson.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you written articles for the *National Guardian* at any time?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I have published two or three book reviews in the *National Guardian.*

Mr. NITTLE. Did you write these book reviews expressly at the request of the editorship or management of the *National Guardian?*

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Who made this request of you?

Miss SUTHERLAND. The book editor.

Mr. NITTLE. Who was that?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Of the *National Guardian*——

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND.—Charles Humboldt.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us the dates on which you were in attendance at the Cuban Writers and Artists Congress?

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Counsel, can we withdraw that question one moment; and before we proceed further, I understood the witness to testify that she was not a member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Were you at any time a member of the committee?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state what the period of your membership in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee was?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I can't give you the exact dates; I am sorry. I would say from 1961–1962, some portions of those years.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you a member during this year, 1963?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you at any time on the Speakers Bureau of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No, but I should add that I wasn't aware that they had an official Speakers Bureau. If they do——

Mr. NITTLE. Whether it was official or unofficial, were you on it?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. Let us assume there was no official committee, even. The point is, Were you asked to make speeches?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes. I speak informally for the committee, but I was not on some list of available lecturers or something of that sort.

Mr. WILLIS. I think in fairness to us and you both, you should be asked why did you disassociate yourself from that committee?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I am afraid the only reason was that I didn't pay my dues.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us when you were in attendance at the Cuban Writers and Artists Congress?

Miss SUTHERLAND. The Congress lasted for about 4 or 5 days around the middle of August 1961.

Mr. NITTLE. The Congress, in fact, was scheduled for the period August 18 to 23, 1961?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you in attendance for each of those days?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I think I dropped in at a number of meetings, probably each of the days.

Mr. NITTLE. Was it one of your purposes in going to Cuba to attend the Cuban Writers and Artists Congress as an observer?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I did not go with the expressed purpose of attending the Congress, but since it was taking place at that time, I thought it would be an interesting thing to observe.

Mr. NITTLE. And you had this in mind at the time you made application for your passport?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No, not at the time I made application.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you requested by anyone to be in attendance at the Cuban Writers and Artists Congress?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. From whom did you receive information that this Congress was to take place?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. I am sorry; I don't remember.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you obtain that information from the *National Guardian* or *The Worker*?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Not from *The Worker*.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you obtain it from the *National Guardian*?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I don't believe so.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Did you obtain it before you reached Cuba, or after reaching Cuba?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I think I heard it a week prior to my departure.

Mr. NITTLE. Did someone ask you to attend this?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. But you don't remember how you derived knowledge of its occurrence in Cuba?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I don't remember precisely.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you recollect whether it was through reading the information or receiving it from some individual?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I really don't remember. I know I wasn't mailed any announcements from Cuba or anything of that sort.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you mailed any announcement from a source in the United States?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Were there any other Americans known to you to be in attendance at the Cuban Writers and Artists Congress?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. I believe there were some other Americans there. There were very few.

Mr. NITTLE. About how many?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Very few.

Mr. NITTLE. What is "very few" to you?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Less than half a dozen.

Mr. NITTLE. Miss Sutherland, for the purposes of the investigations being conducted by this subcommittee, the subcommittee is interested in ascertaining further information about the presence in Cuba of certain United States citizens which the committee is informed might well have been present there during your visit.

Would you state whether you saw any of the following named persons in Cuba during your visit:

Edward Walter Shaw, who is also known as Ed or Edwin Shaw?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. I am sorry; I decline to answer.

Mr. WILLIS. Why?

Miss SUTHERLAND. My reason is that I don't—I am very happy to give any information you wish about my own activities in Cuba. I don't want to discuss any other people.

Mr. NITTLE. Miss Sutherland, we assume that you, as any patriotic American citizen, would want to cooperate with a lawful investigation of this committee. The Supreme Court has repeatedly stated that it is the duty of an American citizen to testify when called upon.

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. I want to explain to you that the committee, as I have already explained, is seeking information relating to persons who have traveled to Cuba in violation of State Department regulations.

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes, I am aware of this. I don't think that my loyalty as an American citizen should require any action against my personal conscience which makes me feel that it is wrong to discuss the activities of other persons.

Mr. NITTLE. Edward Walter Shaw is, in fact, is he not, the Midwest director of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee? We have reason to believe that you know him.

Miss SUTHERLAND. I do not know him.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know whether he was in Cuba at the time you were there in 1961?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I have already declined to answer that question.

Mr. NITTLE. You say you do not know Edward Walter Shaw, and yet refuse to respond to the question on the basis you don't want to talk about somebody.

Miss SUTHERLAND. It is my general feeling that I don't want to discuss others; and in this particular case, even if I don't know, I still don't want to talk about him.

Mr. NITTLE. You mean to say you don't want to talk about someone you don't know?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I believe I answered the question.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I would pose the question again and then request that the witness be directed to answer the question.

Mr. WILLIS. What is the question?

Mr. NITTLE. Did you see Edward Walter Shaw in Cuba during the period you were there?

Mr. WILLIS. I think that is an appropriate question and I am going to have to direct you to answer it.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. The question is, Did you see him?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. I don't know whether I saw him because I don't know him.

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you see Joseph Parker Morray while in Cuba in 1961?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. I decline to answer for the same reasons I gave before.

Mr. WILLIS. You see, you have not really answered that question. The question is, Did you see that person? That is all.

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes. I mean my previous answer when I stated that I did not wish to discuss——

Mr. WILLIS. That is not the question now. We went over that ground with reference to the other witness, and the last question regarding another person, you said you didn't know whether you had seen him because you didn't know him.

The question is, Did you see Joseph Parker Morray while you were in Cuba?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. I decline to answer for the reasons I originally stated in declining to answer whether I had seen the other, the first person you asked me about.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Joseph Parker Morray?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. No, I don't know him.

Mr. NITTLE. Was he at any time pointed out to you in Cuba?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. How long did you remain in Cuba?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Approximately 3 weeks.

Mr. NITTLE. From August 10, 1961?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I may have left on the 14th or 18th. I think I arrived there about the 17th.

Mr. NITTLE. Of August 1961?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. And left when?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Left when?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Miss SUTHERLAND. I returned just under the deadline of my passport validation, about the 19th.

Mr. NITTLE. Of what?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No, I am sorry; about the 9th of September.

Mr. NITTLE. You returned on September 9th?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Approximately; it was just under the deadline.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Albert Jorgenson Lewis, executive secretary of the Greater Los Angeles Chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No, I do not.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Joseph North, editor or correspondent for *The Worker?*

Miss SUTHERLAND. By "know" you mean personally acquainted?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Miss SUTHERLAND. No, I do not.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you know him when you see him, not necessarily socially?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No, I do not.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you ever been introduced to him?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. NITTLE. At any meeting or otherwise?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Not to my knowledge or recollection.

Mr. NITTLE. Was Joseph North ever pointed out to you while in Cuba in August to September 1961?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Was Albert Jorgenson Lewis, whom I just mentioned, ever pointed out to you while you were in Cuba during that period?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Vincent Ted Lee?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes, I know him.

Mr. NITTLE. How long have you known him?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I don't remember the first time I met him. I would say I met him not more than a year or a year and a half ago.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know him as the director of the New York chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I knew him as an officer of that committee.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you see Vincent Ted Lee in Cuba during the period you were there?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. Ask her first if she knows him.

Mr. NITTLE. She has testified to that.

Miss SUTHERLAND. I decline to answer.

Mr. WILLIS. What is the name of the person we are talking about?

Mr. NITTLE. The question, Mr. Chairman, is whether or not the witness saw Vincent Ted Lee in Cuba.

Mr. WILLIS. How long have you known Mr. Lee?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I said, to the best of my recollection, I met him a year or a year and a half ago for the first time.

Mr. WILLIS. Was that before you went to Cuba?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. WILLIS. Are you saying under oath that you did not know him when you went to Cuba?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Just a minute. I may have met Mr. Lee once or twice, introduced and nothing more, before I went to Cuba.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you see him while you were in Cuba?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I have declined to answer that question.

Mr. WILLIS. I will have to order you to answer that question. That is a pertinent question to our inquiry. You see, we are inquiring into the practice of some people violating American law in respect to travel to Cuba, and so on. This question is bigger than you and bigger than myself, and our business is to find out about these things and, if laws are being violated, refer that to the department enforcing the law. Enforcement is not our duty. But our inquiry also has to do with the possible necessity for amendments to these laws. So it is for these reasons that, as chairman of this subcommittee, and I have been a lawyer 37 years, I think this is an appropriate question.

I am being fair to you. Therefore, I must order you to answer that question.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. Sir, I believe that this committee has its own means of obtaining information about such persons as Mr. Lee. In fact, I think he has already testified at another committee, not this one, of the Senate. I, therefore, don't feel that my information is necessary or even could be helpful, and certainly not essential enough to compel me to give information about other persons when this is very much against my wishes.

Mr. WILLIS. It goes beyond your wishes, really, as I said. I can't exercise coercion or force to compel you to answer a question. You have a lawyer. I don't know him. I take it he is a very good one. So you may take his advice or not take it on that. But I must tell you that your answer is not acceptable.

For the last time, I direct you to answer it and call to your attention that your reasons for not answering are not satisfactory as a matter of procedure and as a matter of law and as a matter of constitutional rights.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. I am sorry. I repeat that I decline to answer this question.

Mr. WILLIS. On the grounds you have previously stated?

Miss SUTHERLAND. On the grounds which I have previously stated.

Mr. WILLIS. I tell you it is not acceptable to the committee, with the legal consequences that flow, and therefore, Mr. Counsel, proceed.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you, while in Cuba in 1961, meet with James O'Connor?

Mr. WILLIS. One second. You said that we had other means of getting at this information and said that Mr. Lee had testified.

Miss SUTHERLAND. That is what I have heard.

Mr. WILLIS. How do you know?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I have heard.

Mr. WILLIS. That was an executive session?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. I am just implying that you must know him pretty well.

Miss SUTHERLAND. No. As a member of the committee——

Mr. NITTLE. Nor did Mr. Lee testify before this committee or on the subject of this inquiry.

Miss SUTHERLAND. I believe news of this was carried in the *New York Times.*

Mr. WILLIS. If it is a matter of public information——

Miss SUTHERLAND. I am sure it is a matter of public information.

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you meet with James O'Connor in Cuba during your visit there?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. NITTLE. The James O'Connor to which I refer was formerly a teacher at Barnard College and also a sponsor with you of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee.

Now, will you answer the question as to whether you met James O'Connor during your visit in Cuba?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I decline to answer. I am sorry to appear so uncooperative, but all these questions are of the same nature, that is, they concern other persons, and it is the same principle involved.

Mr. WILLIS. I understand that.

Miss SUTHERLAND. In each question.

Mr. WILLIS. But this is a matter of your Government, and the question is a proper one, and I can't coerce you or compel you physically to answer, but I tell you that your answer is not acceptable. You have a counsel. He can advise you, and the answer you give now is not acceptable. The consequence I am talking about is contempt citation. You know what I am talking about, but I am not compelling you.

But I must make the record abundantly clear so that there will be no misunderstanding about it that your answer is not acceptable and that is that. You may proceed, if that is your position.

Miss SUTHERLAND. I have no comment to make and I can only repeat what I have said.

Mr. WILLIS. In other words, for the reasons you previously stated, you decline to answer.

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. And it is understood that we don't accept that as a proper declination.

You may proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you meet with Mr. Leroy McLucas in Cuba during your visit there?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I decline to answer.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Leroy McLucas?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I know Mr. McLucas.

Mr. NITTLE. And you know James O'Connor, the person previously mentioned?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, would you tell us whether any of these persons whom I have named have attended the Cuban Congress of Writers and Artists?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. I decline to answer.

Mr. WILLIS. Is there a pending question?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. You mean in Cuba, Counsel?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. That is a different question, Miss Sutherland. The other one was whether you saw these people. This one is whether they attended. It is not repetitious. It is a different question.

Miss SUTHERLAND. No, none of the persons whom you have mentioned whom I know or could recognize attended the Congress, at least insofar as the meetings at which I was present.

Mr. NITTLE. Were any of those persons present as observers of the Congress?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No. I meant in any capacity.

Mr. NITTLE. By whom were your experiences——

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Counsel, before we proceed, I want to be very clear as to the names involved in your last question to which the witness' answer was "No."

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir.

Did you understand, Miss Sutherland, that the persons to whom I referred as being in attendance at the Congress were Edward Walter Shaw, Joseph Parker Morray, Albert Jorgenson Lewis, Joseph North, Vincent Ted Lee, James O'Connor, and Leroy McLucas?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Are you now testifying additionally that you did not see them in Cuba?

Miss SUTHERLAND. The question I was asked was whether they had attended the Congress.

Mr. JOHANSEN. And you leave your answer to the previous questions regarding named persons, when you were asked whether you saw them? You leave your answer the same, that you decline to answer?

Mr. LONDON. Before the witness answers that——

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. You have just extended the question to include whether I had seen any of these people in Cuba, not merely at the Congress?

Mr. JOHANSEN. Yes. I have no desire to confuse the witness. I am trying to clarify my own understanding and the record. I want to make very sure whether your answer to the question of whether you saw these named persons at this meeting meant to convey that you were now saying you had not seen any of these named persons while in Cuba.

Mr. WILLIS. He is not asking you to answer it. He wants to know whether you understand the difference between the two.

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes. No, I have previously declined to answer the question of whether I had seen these people in Cuba. I did state that I did not see any of them at the Congress.

Mr. JOHANSEN. And your previous answer stands?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No. I will add one statement to that. Of the persons you have mentioned——

Mr. WILLIS. Whom do you want to include as the people you don't want to say you saw? Name them.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. I will modify my statement and say that of the people that you have asked me about, as to whether I saw them in Cuba, there is one person on that list whom I saw there and that is the last person you have named, who was Mr. Leroy McLucas, who was there legally.

Mr. WILLIS. You mean at the conference?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No, I mean in Cuba. I am referring to presence in Cuba and not to presence at the Congress.

Mr. WILLIS. Give me that list. Let us make it very short. Did you see Edward Walter Shaw in Cuba? I think you said you didn't know him, is that right?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you see Joseph Parker Morray in Cuba?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I said I didn't know him.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you see Albert Jorgenson Lewis in Cuba?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I said I didn't know him.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you see Joseph North in Cuba?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I said I didn't know him.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you see Vincent Ted Lee in Cuba?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you see James O'Connor in Cuba?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you see Leroy McLucas in Cuba?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. But you did not see him, or did you see him, Leroy McLucas, at the conference we are talking about?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. WILLIS. In other words, you draw a distinction that you did see Leroy McLucas in Cuba, but you did not see him at that conference.

Miss SUTHERLAND. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. By whom were your expenses assumed for your attendance at the Cuban Writers and Artists Congress?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I paid my own expenses.

Mr. NITTLE. Were any of these expenses in part assumed by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, were any part, or the whole, of your living expenses and accommodations in Cuba furnished by the Cuban Government?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Not by the——

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. The question was, Were my expenses or any part of them paid for——

Mr. NITTLE. Were your living expenses and accommodations, in whole or in part, while in Cuba, furnished by the Cuban Government?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Part of them; yes.

Mr. NITTLE. What part was furnished by the Cuban Government?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Some meals, and I think my hotel room.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you have any understanding with representatives of the Cuban Government prior to your departure for Cuba——

Miss SUTHERLAND. No. Excuse me?

Mr. NITTLE—that your meals and hotel room might be supplied by them without charge to you?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No. I was very surprised when I went to pay my bill to be informed that there was no charge. I did not know this until I left Havana to go on a trip into the country.

Mr. NITTLE. I see. In exchange for the privilege of your attendance at the Cuban Congress of Artists and Writers, and the fact that the Cuban Government assumed the expenses of furnishing you meals and a hotel room, was it understood that you would conduct propaganda favorable to the Cuban regime in the United States on your return here?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. Emphatically no.

Mr. NITTLE. Was anything said at that time——

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE.—with respect to your activities upon your return?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Nothing whatsoever.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Was anything said at any time during your visit in Cuba about your activities on your return?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. While you were in Cuba, did you confer with any officials of the Cuban Government?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No. Excuse me, I think toward the end of my visit I consulted some sort of tourist director there because I wanted to get an earlier plane back. The planes were crowded.

Mr. NITTLE. What person was authorized to extend you free meals and room service?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I have no idea. I went to pay my bill and I was informed by the hotel clerk that it was not necessary to pay it.

Mr. NITTLE. At the time you arrived in Cuba, were you required to execute any questionnaire by the Cuban Government relating to your political affiliations or beliefs?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Or your membership in any organization?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you, while in Cuba, make it known to Cubans that you were a member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No, I did not.

Mr. NITTLE. You told that to no one?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No, I did not. They were very hospitable people.

Mr. NITTLE. And you, of course, were very friendly to the Cuban regime?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I was not friendly to the Cuban regime because I had no contacts with the Cuban regime. The only Cubans I saw were writers and painters.

Mr. NITTLE. Had you not, both prior to your trip in Cuba in 1961 and subsequent thereto, conducted propaganda in favor of the Cuban Communist regime?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. No, sir; I have never conducted propaganda of any sort.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. I have published an article on this Congress in the magazine *The Nation*, which I consider to be a very objective account of what took place. It was primarily a study of the degree of artistic freedom existing in Cuba and what policies the Congress decided upon in this relation.

Mr. NITTLE. And you were also interviewed by *The Worker* correspondent?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Apparently your report satisfied him, did it not?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. I don't know whether he was satisfied. He made no comment. He only interviewed me.

Mr. NITTLE. You don't think that is funny, do you?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I think to ask me——

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed and ask questions.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. I think it is a little funny.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you applied for registration, or have you registered, with the Attorney General at any time pursuant to the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. No. I have not because I am not a foreign agent.

Mr. WILLIS. You see, by that you must understand we are talking about a Federal law which requires foreign agents of all governments to register. In other words, lobbyists must register and, therefore, a representative of all governments must register, and most of them do and brag about it. This is not intended to embarrass you, I am sure. It is just to develop information by questions and answers.

Miss SUTHERLAND. I do not consider myself in any way a lobbyist and certainly I am not in the employ of a foreign government.

Mr. WILLIS. We are not in a position to dispute what you are saying. I think there is quite a contrast between you and the previous witness, who said that the whole Government was at fault in matters of passport and that the whole Government was wrong and that this committee was at the forefront of it all. We appreciate the difference in your appearance here. We are simply after facts.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Did you continue your membership in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee after your return from Cuba?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I believe so.

Mr. WILLIS. Would you be able to say for how long?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Until into 1962.

Mr. WILLIS. What were your activities——

Miss SUTHERLAND. Late 1962.

Mr. WILLIS. What were your activities, if any, as a member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee subsequent to your return from Cuba?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I made this little talk which you have referred to in these announcements. I gave an even more informal talk on the same subject at a party, as opposed to a speech of this kind, which was sponsored by the committee. That is all.

Mr. WILLIS. Was the general subject matter of the second talk on your trip to Cuba and your attendance at this Congress and your impressions based thereon?

Miss SUTHERLAND. The subject matter of both talks was as follows. It was a review of cultural policy in Cuba during the previous year and through the Congress which I had observed.

Mr. WILLIS. May I go back a little bit to these names. If I recall correctly—and correct me if I am wrong—in your earlier statement you were asked, as I remember, whether there were a lot of American writers and representatives at that conference and you said just a few. Thereupon counsel asked you what is a few and you said maybe half a dozen. Is that about correct?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I said less than half a dozen was my idea of a few.

Mr. WILLIS. You named one, Mr. McLucas. Now, who were the other five or four?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No. I did not say Mr. McLucas was at the Congress.

Mr. WILLIS. Pardon?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I did not say Mr. McLucas was at the Congress.

Mr. WILLIS. I see. That is right, you said you had only seen him. But now let us go back to what you did say, that there were less than half a dozen at the conference. Who were they? In other words, from our investigation and our records we are giving you names, and you said there were less than half a dozen at the conference. Now, who were they?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. At the conference in Cuba—or it may be you said you saw less than half a dozen in Cuba. Whichever one, I am not putting the words in your mouth. I am paraphrasing your testimony from my recollection, and you agree I am paraphrasing it correctly. Whether at the conference or in Cuba, it is now established that, of the names we named, you said you saw Mr. McLucas. That leaves anywhere from five to less that you saw in Cuba, or at the conference in Cuba. Now, who were they?

Miss SUTHERLAND. We are back where we were. I decline to answer.

Mr. WILLIS. All right. We might come back to that; but in the meantime, as I recall, you said a moment ago that Mr. McLucas was there "legally." Did you use that expression?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I said to the best of my understanding.

Mr. WILLIS. What do you mean by "legally"?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I meant, or I understood he had a validated passport to travel to Cuba.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you know some who were not there "legally"?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No. I mentioned that because I understand that one of the purposes of the present investigation is illegal travel to Cuba and I simply wanted to——

Mr. WILLIS. Let me ask you this: Did you and Mr. McLucas travel together, or did you just meet him in Cuba?

Miss SUTHERLAND. He arrived after I did.

Mr. JOHANSEN. On what information did you base your statement that he was there legally, or with legally, properly validated passport?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. Mr. McLucas got his passport validation for travel to Cuba on the basis of a letter written by me. He went to Cuba to make photographs for a photographic book which I had under consideration as a publishing project.

Mr. NITTLE. Has Leroy McLucas entered into any contract with the firm of Simon and Schuster by which he would prepare a book for publication by that firm, or will supply photographs on the subject of Cuba to be contained in a book for publication by the firm of which you are senior editor?

Miss SUTHERLAND. You are asking me if he had a contract?

Mr. NITTLE. Any contract?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Not a formal contract.

Mr. NITTLE. You did assist Mr. McLucas in the preparation of an application to obtain a United States passport for travel to Cuba?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I wrote a letter with which he obtained a validated passport.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you, Miss Sutherland, a photostatic copy of the passport application filed by Mr. McLucas with the New York office

of the Department of State on July 13, 1961, marked for identification as "Sutherland Exhibit No. 3."

On page 1 of the passport application you will note a photograph of Leroy McLucas appended thereto. Is that a photograph of Mr. McLucas?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes, it is.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman I offer Exhibit 3 for the record, to be retained in the committee's files.

Mr. WILLIS. Let it be incorporated in the record.

(Document marked "Sutherland Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. On this passport application he gives his address as 84 East 3rd Street, New York 3, New York, and states he was born July 9, 1935 at St. Louis, Missouri. Did you know him to reside at 84 East Third Street, New York 3, New York, as of July 13, 1961?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. I do not really know.

Mr. NITTLE. I direct your attention to page 2 of that application, on which he advises the State Department that the only country he is to visit is England, that his port of departure would be New York, and the approximate date of departure would be July 20, 1961. Did you assist Mr. McLucas in the preparation of that passport application?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No, I did not.

Mr. NITTLE. Did he advise you of the facts contained in it which I have just recited?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Is this the same passport with respect to which you provided Mr. McLucas a letter?

Mr. WILLIS. A recommendation of some sort.

Miss SUTHERLAND. The letter which I provided was for validation of a passport. I did not know at the time whether he had a passport or not. That is an additional step, the validation.

Mr. NITTLE. You will note on page 2 of the application, Exhibit No. 3——

Mr. WILLIS. The Chair was inquiring as to the prospect of completing the testimony before lunch. It looks as though we cannot. So the committee will stand in recess until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:55 p.m., Monday, May 6, 1963, the hearings were recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m. the same day.)

(Members present: Representatives Willis and Johansen of the subcommittee, and also Pool, Bruce, Schadeberg, and Ashbrook.

AFTERNOON SESSION—MONDAY, MAY 6, 1963

(The subcommittee reconvened at 2 p.m., Honorable Edwin E. Willis, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.)

(Subcommittee members present: Representatives Willis and Johansen.)

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will be in order.

You may proceed Mr. Nittle.

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND—Resumed

Mr. NITTLE. Mrs. Sutherland, just before the recess I had handed you Exhibit No. 3, which is a passport application executed by Leroy McLucas on July 13, 1961, in which he stated to the Passport Office that he wished to travel to England and that his approximate date of departure was July 20, 1961. Will you note on page 2 of the application, Exhibit No. 3, that Mr. McLucas lists your name, Mrs. Elizabeth Sutherland, Simon and Schuster, Fifth Avenue, New York City, New York, as the person to be notified in the event of death or accident.

Does your name appear as I have stated in the passport application?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes, more or less.

Mr. NITTLE. What do you mean "more or less"?

Mr. LONDON. Misstatement of a name.

Mr. NITTLE. What is misstated with respect to your name?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I am Miss Elizabeth Sutherland, and it says Mrs., but it is not important.

Mr. NITTLE. I see. Did Mr. McLucas on July 13, 1961, at the time he filed that application, or prior thereto, discuss with you this fact, that he wished to name you as the person to be notified in case of accident or death?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I do not remember exactly. I think he informed me at the time that he had done this.

Mr. NITTLE. It is not clear to me whether this information he gave you was prior to the date of application or subsequent to it. Will you clarify that?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I do not remember exactly. My recollection is that it was not prior to the date of application.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you aware that Leroy McLucas obtained his passport on the very same day on which he filed his application, namely, July 13, 1961?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No, I am not aware that he obtained his passport the same day he applied for it.

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. No, I was not aware.

Mr. NITTLE. When did you first become aware of it?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Mr. McLucas was making a trip to Cuba. He did not inform me of the details of his travel arrangement to that extent.

Mr. NITTLE. I asked when you first became aware that Mr. McLucas had received a passport?

Miss SUTHERLAND. When I first became aware that he had received a passport?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Miss SUTHERLAND. I don't remember the precise date.

Mr. NITTLE. Was it the very next day?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I just don't remember.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you not made aware of this fact on July 14, 1961, the day following the date of his application and the issuance of his passport for travel to England?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I don't know when he told me that he had obtained his passport. I don't quite see the importance of the question. I certainly found out at some point that he was able to go.

Mr. NITTLE. All right.

Miss SUTHERLAND. But I don't know when.

Mr. NITTLE. On July 14, 1961, the day following the date of the receipt of the passport, Mr. McLucas addressed a letter to the Passport Division of the U.S. Department of State requesting permission to travel to Cuba in order, as he said, "to take photographs for a book which Simon and Schuster is interested in publishing." I hand you a copy of his letter of July 14, 1961, addressed to the Passport Division, marked "Sutherland Exhibit No. 4," on which you will note that he advises that he would wish to leave for Cuba on July 21, 1961, and stay about 1 month before returning to the United States, although you will recollect that in his passport application to the New York Office he indicated his desire to travel only to England and to travel commencing July 20, 1961.

Were you aware, Miss Sutherland, of the contents of this letter of July 14, 1961, being forwarded to the Passport Division by Mr. McLucas?

(At this point Representatives Bruce, Tuck, and Pool entered the hearing room.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. I was aware that he was making application for validation of his passport.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you see that letter of July 14, 1961?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. I don't remember. It is possible.

Mr. NITTLE. You will note that in the letter of Mr. McLucas of July 14, 1961, he refers in it to an "enclosed letter"; is that correct?

I hand you a photostatic copy of a letter dated July 14, 1961, the same date as Mr. McLucas' letter, on the letterhead of Simon and Schuster, Inc., marked for identification as "Sutherland Exhibit No. 5."

Do you not, in that letter addressed "To Whom It May Concern," intend to advise the State Department that Leroy McLucas, whom you describe as a free-lance photographer, wishes to go to Cuba to take photographs in connection with a book which you state your firm is interested in publishing and request permission for him to travel for that purpose?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you not know on July 14, 1961, at the time you addressed that letter on the official letterhead of Simon and Schuster and signed that with your name, "Elizabeth Sutherland, Senior Editor," that Mr. McLucas had already received a passport validated for travel to England, but not for Cuba?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I would have written the letter for him for us whether he had obtained his passport by that date or not.

Mr. NITTLE. You would have?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes, I would assume——

Mr. NITTLE. When did you prepare that letter?

Miss SUTHERLAND. On July 14—I would assume that he would get a passport.

Mr. NITTLE. How long had you known Mr. McLucas prior to July 14, 1961?

Miss SUTHERLAND. About a year.

Mr. NITTLE. Under what circumstances did you meet him?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I met him socially. I later saw his photographs and was impressed by them.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you meet him at any gatherings of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. I now hand you a photostatic copy of a letter of the deputy director of the New York Passport Office, dated July 21, 1961, addressed to Mr. McLucas marked for identification as "Sutherland Exhibit No. 6."

That letter is in reply to Mr. McLucas' request for travel to Cuba, and declares that validation of his passport for travel to Cuba cannot be granted because of the break in diplomatic relations, and returned his passport "for such other travel as Mr. McLucas might plan to undertake."

Did Mr. McLucas inform you of the rejection of his application for validation of his passport?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes, he did.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I offer Sutherland Exhibits Nos. 4, 5, and 6 for the record at this time.

Mr. WILLIS. Let them be incorporated in the record.

(Documents mark "Sutherland Exhibits Nos. 4, 5, and 6," respectively, follow.)

SUTHERLAND EXHIBIT No. 4

July 14, 1961

Passport Division
U.S. Department of State

Gentlemen:

I hereby request permission to travel to Cuba in order to take photographs for a book which Simon and Schuster is interested in publishing (see enclosed letter).

I wish to leave on July 21 and stay about one month before returning to the United States. My passport no. is B-570584.

I agree to register with the Swiss Consulate upon my arrival in Havana. My address there will be the Hotel Nacional.

My work as a free-lance photographer has been published in Kulchur, Jazz Review, and in publications of the Community Service Society of New York.

It is very important that I leave on the date specified above in order that plans for the book be made. I should therefore appreciate your taking action on my application immediately.

Yours sincerely,

Leroy McLucas

Leroy McLucas

84 East Third Street
New York 3, N.Y.

SUTHERLAND EXHIBIT NO. 5

SIMON AND SCHUSTER, INC.
publishers

ROCKEFELLER CENTER, *630 Fifth Avenue, New York 20* • CABLE ADDRESS *Essandess* • TELEPHONE *Circle 5-6400*

July 14, 1961

To Whom It May Concern:

Leroy McLucas, a free-lance photographer, wishes to go to Cuba to take photographs in connection with a book which we are interested in publishing. I should appreciate very much your extending to him permission to travel there for this purpose, and particularly your enabling him to leave as soon as possible so that our plans for the book may be completed.

Elizabeth Sutherland

Elizabeth Sutherland

Senior Editor

SUTHERLAND EXHIBIT NO. 6

In reply refer to
PPT/D-130-McLucas, Leroy

JUL 21 19

Dear Mr. McLucas:

Reference is made to your letter of July 14, 1961 requesting permission to travel to Cuba.

In view of the break in diplomatic relations between the United States and Cuba, the Government of the United States cannot extend the normal protective services to its citizens visiting Cuba.

It is not considered that your request meets the criteria established for an exception to the general policy of limiting travel by United States citizens to Cuba. Hence, a validation for travel there cannot be granted to you.

Your passport is enclosed for such other travel as you may plan to undertake.

It is regretted that a more favorable reply cannot be made to your request.

Sincerely,

Richard J. Hickey
Deputy Director, Passport Office

Enclosure

One Passport

Mr. Leroy McLucas
84 East Third Street
New York 3, N. Y.

PPT:JAMang:lmc 7-20-61

Mr. NITTLE. May I return to the letter you wrote on behalf of Mr. McLucas in which you seek a validation for him. You state you prepared that letter on July 14, 1961; is that right?

Miss SUTHERLAND. That is the date on the letter.

(At this point Mr. Johansen left the hearing room.)

Mr. NITTLE. When did Mr. McLucas make request for that letter of July 14?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I do not remember exactly. I would assume it was quite close to the date, July 14.

Mr. NITTLE. Was it the day before?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I do not remember.

Mr. NITTLE. Where did the discussions pertaining to this requested letter take place?

Miss SUTHERLAND. The idea of his doing a book was originally discussed——

Mr. NITTLE. No, I am asking where the request for this letter of yours of July 14 took place?

Miss SUTHERLAND. The location of the discussion?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Miss SUTHERLAND. In my office.

Mr. NITTLE. At Simon and Schuster?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. At the time you prepared that letter for Mr. McLucas had you made any contractual arrangments with him for the taking of photographs in Cuba?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I answered that question this morning, I believe, and I said there was no formal contract.

Mr. NITTLE. You said there was no formal arrangement made, but you had discussed the matter?

Miss SUTHERLAND. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you realize that Mr. McLucas would go to considerable expense in his trip?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Was any authorization given to Mr. McLucas by any of your official superiors in Simon and Schuster to travel to Cuba to incur these expenses in connection with a book to be published by Simon and Schuster?

Miss SUTHERLAND. None of Mr. McLucas' expenses were to be covered by Simon and Schuster.

Mr. NITTLE. Were the arrangements exclusively made with you?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you discuss this with any of your superior officers, the fact that you were undertaking this arrangement with Mr. McLucas?

(At this point Mr. Johansen returned to the hearing room.)

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. My action in providing Mr. McLucas with a letter of accreditation was not unusual thing for me to do since, as I think you mentioned this morning, or asked me to confirm, editors such as myself often undertake projects and encourage authors without any existing contract for the work. I would like to add, since it has not yet appeared in the record, that Mr. McLucas did get his passport validated eventually.

Mr. NITTLE. We will come to that.

(At this point Representatives Ashbrook and Schadeberg entered the hearing room.)

Mr. JOHANSEN. Just answer the question "Yes" or "No" as to whether your superiors were consulted.

Miss SUTHERLAND. I did not consult my superiors because it was a normal editorial undertaking.

Mr. NITTLE. The answer is you did not consult?

Miss SUTHERLAND. There were no expenses involved. Therefore, I saw no reason to ask approval.

Mr. NITTLE. Did Simon and Schuster at any time subsequently publish any book containing photographs supplied by Mr. McLucas?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. They did not?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No, they did not.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you at any time subsequent to this date discuss with Simon and Schuster, your superior officials, that you had discussed this with Mr. McLucas?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Had discussed what?

Mr. NITTLE. Your engaging him to travel to Cuba for this purpose.

Miss SUTHERLAND. Mr. McLucas was not engaged to travel to Cuba by Simon and Schuster.

Mr. NITTLE. No, you talked to him about this. Did you ever discuss this later with your superiors? Did Mr. McLucas ever present to you any photographs which were to be published?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes, most certainly.

Mr. NITTLE. Why were they not published?

Miss SUTHERLAND. He brought back a large number of photographs.

Mr. NITTLE. Why were they not published by Simon and Schuster?

Miss SUTHERLAND. They were not published primarily because a photographic book is a very expensive publishing undertaking. By the time we received the photographs the chance of marketing such a book successfully seemed very small.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you show these photographs to anybody in Simon and Schuster?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I believe I did.

Mr. NITTLE. You believe you did?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you show them to any official?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I think I showed them to—a selection of the best ones—to one or two people on the staff. But I had by then realized myself that it was unlikely we would publish such a book.

Mr. NITTLE. You made that decision yourself, did you not?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I made it based on my observation of publishing practice and the situation at that time.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, we will go back to the application of Mr. McLucas for a passport, your letter in support of its validation for Cuba, and then the notice of July 21, 1961, from the New York office of the Passport Division that the application was rejected.

However, you are aware, as you have expressed it here a moment ago, that the decision of July 21, 1961, of the New York office of the Passport Division was reversed on July 24, three days later, in Wash-

ington, and a passport validated for travel to Cuba—valid until December 31, 1961—was granted to Leroy McLucas. You are aware of that fact, are you not?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes, I am.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I offer for the record a Department of State reference slip or memo which was prepared in the United States Department of State, apparently on July 24, 1961, referring to the passport application for travel to Cuba by Mr. McLucas. This is marked for identification as "Sutherland Exhibit No. 7."

The State Department memo reads as follows:

Mr. McCloskey discussed case with Lincoln White and they recommend Mr. McLucas be permitted to go to Cuba since he has letter of assignment from Simon and Schuster.

There are other notes upon the memo, including a statement that a TWX was sent to New York to okay Mr. McLucas' travel to Cuba.

Now, Miss Sutherland, could you tell us when Mr. McLucas actually departed for Cuba after validation of his passport in July 1961?

Miss SUTHERLAND. He departed for Cuba sometime during my absence from New York and his presence in Cuba. So I don't know the exact date.

(Document marked "Sutherland Exhibit No. 7" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Didn't he tell you of that date when you met him in Cuba?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Not precisely.

Mr. NITTLE. Didn't he tell you that he had departed from the United States on or about September 3, 1961? Did he or did he not?

Miss SUTHERLAND. He did not mention the exact date. I think we met in Havana by the swimming pool of a hotel. I was very happy to see him. I said, "When did you get here?" He answered, "A few hours ago," and we went on to talk about other things. I had no reason to pin him down as to the date of his departure.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you not aware of his date of departure by some means of communication?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No, I was not.

Mr. NITTLE. How did he know at what hotel to find you a few hours after his arrival?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I think he must have asked in various places.

Mr. NITTLE. What places occur to you?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I suppose the hotels, the two or three main hotels in Havana.

Mr. NITTLE. There are many hotels in Havana, are there not?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes, but there are two or three main large ones.

Mr. NITTLE. You mean to tell us you do not know how he established a contact with you at this particular hotel at which you were staying, at the swimming pool?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I don't remember.

Mr. NITTLE. What hotel were you staying at in September 1961?

Miss SUTHERLAND. At the Hilton. At the Havana Libre.

Mr. NITTLE. You will recollect that Mr. McLucas, in his application to the State Department, expressed an urgent desire to receive his passport promptly, indicating he wanted to travel on July 21. Was

there any further discussion between you and Mr. McLucas that would explain his delayed departure?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I don't understand the question, "that would explain his delayed departure."

Mr. NITTLE. You did not leave the United States until August 10, 1961?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes, that is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. McLucas left on September 3, 1961. But in his passport application and accompanying letter he expressed an urgent desire to travel promptly. Yet as of August 10 you knew he had not left the United States, is that not true?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Was there any discussion between you and Mr. McLucas as to why he had not departed at an earlier date after expressing urgency for a passport?

Miss SUTHERLAND. He informed me, of course, that his original application had been rejected.

Mr. NITTLE. It was then validated on July 24.

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the urgency in his going to Cuba and was there any discussion between you and him as to why he delayed his departure?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I have no idea why he delayed his departure. Possibly it was to——

Mr. NITTLE. I don't want you to speculate. Was there any discussion between you and him?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I am sorry, I do not know why he delayed his departure.

Mr. NITTLE. There was no discussion between you and him on that subject?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I don't remember any discussion.

Mr. NITTLE. The passport of Mr. McLucas was noted as valid until December 31, 1961. However, he continued to remain in Cuba after the expiration of his passport, and, Mr. Chairman, I state for the record that on January 4, 1962, Leroy McLucas addressed a letter from the Hotel Presidente in Havana, Cuba, to the United States Passport Service, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C., requesting an extension of his expired passport for approximately 3 or 4 months to complete his photographic activities. That letter is marked for identification as "Sutherland Exhibit No. 8," which I now offer for the record.

Mr. WILLIS. It will be received.

(Document marked "Sutherland Exhibit No. 8" follows.)

SUTHERLAND EXHIBIT NO. 8

Hotel Presidente
G y Calzado
Vedado, Havana, Cuba
January 4, 1962

United States Passport Service
Department of State
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Sir:

This is a request for extention of my Visa which expired December 31, 1961. Upon veiwing my passport (#B570584) I realized that not only my Visa was expired but also the passport, althought ordinaryly a passport is issued for the period of three years. The passport (#B570534) was issued July 24, 1961.

During the period while I have been in Cuba, I have had several incidents, such as for example: Having to apply for permission which is necessary for photographing different activities: while in the interior traveling to Camaguey the camera fell to the ground (causing me to return to Havana for camera parts): some photographic supplies which I needed was only available at certain times; etc.

Approximately three or four months needed for the completion, due to the nature of my work. It will be appreciate if Visa Extention is forward in care of; Swiss Foreign Affairs, Havana-Cuba, or Hotel Presidente G y Calzado-Vedado, Havana-Cuba.

Sincerely,

Leroy Rolnicas

1 copy:
Department of State
PassPort Agency
New York, New York

Mr. NITTLE. On February 5, 1962, approximately 1 month after addressing his letter to Washington, Mr. McLucas filed a formal application for passport with the Embassy of Switzerland in Cuba which was representing United States' interests. Mr. Chairman, this application is marked for identification as "Sutherland Exhibit No. 9," which I now offer for the record, to be retained in the committee's files.

Mr. WILLIS. Let it be incorporated in the record.

(Document marked "Sutherland Exhibit No. 9" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. In this application he requested an extension of his passport to April 15 or 20, 1962. He explained that his residence in Cuba was for the purpose of collecting photographic materials for publishing, and in this application he declares that in the event of death or accident the person to be notified is Mr. A. Spellman, 209 F. 6 Street, New York City.

Miss Sutherland, are you aware of any reason why Mr. McLucas now asks Mr. A. Spellman to be notified in case of death or accident, whereas in his application in New York he listed your name?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No, I am not.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know A. Spellman?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. What is funny about that?

Mr. LONDON. I heard the name Cardinal Spellman whispered from behind. I think that is what it was.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know an individual——

Mr. WILLIS. Let me say that you people are here as the guests of this committee and you are expected to demean yourself accordingly. There is nothing funny about this as far as I am concerned.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know A. Spellman?

Mr. WILLIS. Pardon me, those are the second bells. We will stand in recess for about 10 minutes.

(Short recess.)

(Members present at time of recess: Representatives Willis, Tuck, and Johansen of the subcommittee, and also Pool, Bruce, Schadeberg, and Ashbrook.)

(Members present at resumption of hearings: Representatives Willis and Johansen of the subcommittee, and also Pool, Bruce, and Schadeberg.)

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will please come to order.

You may proceed, Mr. Nittle.

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir.

Just before the recess we were talking about Mr. McLucas' application on February 5, 1962, presented to the Embassy of Switzerland in Cuba, which was representing United States' interests, asking for an extension of his passport. Mr. Chairman, the application of Mr. McLucas to the Swiss Embassy was forwarded to Washington for approval. It is to be noted that the officer in the Swiss Embassy who received the application on behalf of the United States made a notation at the bottom of page 4 of this application, Exhibit No. 9, under the heading "Opinion of Officer Taking Application." The following was the notation:

As expressed verbally to this officer, McLucas has very strong political convictions in favor of the actual Cuban Government, even against his own country. See attached letter of Mr. Leroy McLucas explaining reasons of staying in Cuba. In view of the declarations of Mr. McLucas against his country, we submit his case to the consideration of the Dept. of State, before delivering him a P. P. [passport].

Now, Miss Sutherland, did Mr. McLucas ever express such sentiments in your presence?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Could I have the phrase again, general sentiments——

Mr. NITTLE. I think you have the exhibit.

Mr. WILLIS. "Very strong political convictions."

Mr. NITTLE. The statement contained in the passport application, under "Opinion of Officer Taking Application," states that Mr. McLucas had "very strong political convictions in favor of the actual Cuban Government, even against his own country."

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. What is your question?

Mr. NITTLE. Did Mr. McLucas ever express such sentiments in your presence?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. Given the very general way in which you have put that, I will say no.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, the application of Mr. McLucas for an extension of his passport was nevertheless approved in Washington, and the Swiss Embassy was notified of the approval on February 23, 1962. Subsequently, on March 30, 1962, the Swiss Embassy notified Washington that although the passport had been approved, Mr. McLucas now rejected the passport and did not plan to return to the United States. I offer the notice of the Swiss Embassy to that effect for the record, marked for identification as "Sutherland Exhibit No. 10."

Mr. WILLIS. Let it be made a part of the record.

(Document marked "Sutherland Exhibit No. 10" follows.)

SUTHERLAND EXHIBIT No. 10

AIR POUCH — UNCLASSIFIED

HANDLING INDICATOR

For Department Use Only

603 5437/3-2962

FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

FROM : Amembassy BERN — 522 (NO.)

TO : THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON. — March 29, 1962 (DATE)

REF : Department's W-164 of February 23, 1962

MAR 30 1962

2 For Dept. Use Only	ACTION	INFO	DEPT	RMR	REP	AF	ARA	EUR	FE	NEA	CU	INR	E	P	IO	ICA
	PPT-2 SIS-2			2			3	3								
			OTHER	AGR	COM	FRB	INT	LAB	TAR	TR	XMB					
	REC'D 4-4			AIR	ARMY	CIA	NAVY	OSD	OCR	USIA						

SUBJECT: Representation US Interests: Cuba Citizenship and Passports

The Embassy refers to the Department's W-164 of February 23, 1962 approving the protection passport application of Leroy McLUCAS. The Swiss Embassy in Habana reports that Mr. McLucas has rejected the protection passport and does not plan to return to the United States.

For the Chargé d'Affaires ad interim:

Warren P. Blumberg

Warren P. Blumberg
First Secretary of Embassy

KEBlock:dlw — UNCLASSIFIED

REPORTER

FORM 8-61 FS-439 GPO 812656

For Department Use Only.- To be Filled In on Yellow Original ONLY

ACTION ASSIGNED TO	ACTION TAKEN	
NAME OF OFFICER & OFFICE SYMBOL	DATE OF ACTION	DIRECTIONS TO RN/R

Mr. NITTLE. Now, Miss Sutherland, although it was indicated——

Mr. WILLIS. So I can follow you from here on, did he come back or did he stay there, just a short answer.

Mr. NITTLE. Our information is that he did return, and I propose to ask Miss Sutherland about that.

Mr. WILLIS. Is he under subpena?

Mr. NITTLE. He can't be located, Mr. Willis. We have endeavored to do so, but we cannot locate him.

Mr. WILLIS. We will get him.

Mr. NITTLE. Miss Sutherland, although it was indicated that Mr. McLucas advised the Swiss Embassy that he did not plan to return to the United States and rejected the passport for which he applied, have you nevertheless seen him in the United States thereafter?

Miss SUTHERLAND. On his return from Cuba.

Mr. NITTLE. At any time after March 30, 1962?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes, I have.

Mr. NITTLE. When did you see him and where?

Miss SUTHERLAND. He brought me the photographs which he had made in Cuba to my office.

Mr. NITTLE. When?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I don't remember the exact date. It was approximately a year after he went there.

Mr. NITTLE. That would be in September 1962, is that right?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Approximately.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you have knowledge as to whether or not he is presently in the United States?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I understand that he is.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know where he lives?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No, I do not.

Mr. NITTLE. From what source do you receive your understanding that he is presently here?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I have seen him myself.

Mr. WILLIS. How many times since September 1962, about? Let us put it this way: When was the last time you saw him?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I would say about 6 weeks ago or 2 months ago.

Mr. NITTLE. Where did you see him at that time?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I think in my office.

Mr. NITTLE. Again?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the purpose of his visit?

Miss SUTHERLAND. He came to pay a social visit to say hello, to show me photographs he had made.

Mr. NITTLE. Not, however, for the purpose of publishing them in your publications?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you, Miss Sutherland, a photostatic copy of page 11 of the Communist *Worker*, dated Sunday, August 19, 1962, marked for identification as "Sutherland Exhibit No. 11." Under the column "What's On?" the following appears:

FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA—"New Cuban Film"—Welcome Home Leroy McLucas, showing his documentary, Saturday, August 18th, 8:30 P.M. Upshure Studio, 647 Broadway, near Bleecker. Contribution 99c. Refreshments, Dance, **Benefit—Fair Play for Cuba Committee.**

To your knowledge, did Mr. McLucas appear at the Upshure Studio at 647 Broadway, New York, On August 18, 1962, and show his documentary on Cuba?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I don't know.

(Document marked "Sutherland Exhibit No. 11" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Were you present?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you at any time seen this documentary to which reference is made in the exhibit?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. No, I have not seen this film mentioned here.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you see any of his work on film, in your office or anywhere?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I saw a film which he made.

Mr. WILLIS. Would it be the same one as this one as far as you know?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I would have no way of knowing.

Mr. WILLIS. Where did you see it?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I saw it in a downtown loft.

Mr. WILLIS. Downtown what?

Miss SUTHERLAND. A building in downtown New York City.

Mr. WILLIS. What was the occasion?

Miss SUTHERLAND. It was a showing of this film.

Mr. WILLIS. Who sponsored the showing?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I think he himself.

Mr. WILLIS. Who invited you?

Miss SUTHERLAND. He did.

Mr. WILLIS. How many people were there?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I don't remember.

Mr. WILLIS. When was it?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I would say last fall or early winter, possibly.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you see it once, or more than once?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Once.

Mr. WILLIS. Was that the only film that he produced that you saw or was it one of a series, or did you see more than one?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Only one.

Mr. WILLIS. That was the film he took while he was in Cuba during the time we have been talking about?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I understand that he made the film there, yes.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Counsel, did the film you referred to bear a title?

Mr. NITTLE. No, sir, it was simply entitled in the advertisements "New Cuban Film," and it was displayed by Leroy McLucas.

Mr. BRUCE. I would like to ask the witness, this location, this loft you described, was it a private one?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I don't know.

Mr. BRUCE. You were in attendance. Was it in an apartment or in a theater?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. BRUCE. What particular place was it?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I don't know who owned the premises.

Mr. BRUCE. I am not asking you who owned it. Was it a public showing or was it a private viewing in an apartment, in a theater, or what was it? You were there.

Miss SUTHERLAND. It was shown——

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. I think I have already answered that question when I said that the showing was sponsored by the maker of the film.

Mr. BRUCE. I was not asking you who sponsored the film. I am asking you the nature of the place where it was shown.

Miss SUTHERLAND. It was in what is called a loft of the lower East Side of New York City.

Mr. BRUCE. Could you identify "loft" a little bit more for the committee which is not familiar with the lower East Side terminology.

Miss SUTHERLAND. It is a large area such as is often used by various types of artists who need a great deal of space.

Mr. BRUCE. This was an artist's studio?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I don't know. That is what a loft is.

Mr. BRUCE. Was this the residence of McLucas? Was this his loft?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No. I have no reason to think so.

Mr. BRUCE. The second part of the question—this was not in the area of a public viewing, then? It was a private viewing, is that right?

Miss SUTHERLAND. What do you mean by public?

Mr. BRUCE. Anybody could not walk in. It was a private viewing.

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes, anyone could walk in.

Mr. BRUCE. By invitation?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No. Anyone could have walked in if they had known it was there.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Had it been advertised in any way other than by word of mouth?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. There were a number of posters announcing it in coffee houses and other public places.

Mr. BRUCE. Let me ask you this: Will you recall for us the address approximately, or specifically if you can, of the loft where this viewing was held?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I am sorry I do not know.

Mr. BRUCE. Approximately?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I don't.

Mr. WILLIS. What street was it on?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I don't know the name of the street. I am not familiar with that part of the city.

Mr. WILLIS. Was it daytime or nighttime?

Miss SUTHERLAND. In the evening.

Mr. WILLIS. Were there anywhere from one to six people that you saw in Cuba, but decided not to name, in attendance at that showing?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Not as far as I can remember.

Mr. NITTLE. Was any admission charged for this showing to which you last referred, in the loft?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes, there was an admission charge.

Mr. NITTLE. To whom did the admissions go?

Miss SUTHERLAND. They went to Mr. McLucas who had some refreshments served.

Mr. NITTLE. Did it go to the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No, not as far as I know.

Mr. NITTLE. Was anything stated at that meeting to the effect that any of these funds went to any official of the Communist Party?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. It appears, Miss Sutherland, that Mr. McLucas, having rejected his passport, may have returned to the United States from Cuba without one. Did you have any discussions with Mr. McLucas as to his itinerary in leaving Cuba?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know whether he had a passport validated for travel and admission to the United States on his return from Cuba?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know whether or not Mr. McLucas has traveled to Mexico after March 30, 1962, and prior to his meeting with you in September 1962?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Did he discuss any travel to Mexico with you?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Or any other place in Latin America?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Miss Sutherland, last November 1962, this committee held hearings on the subject of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee, an organization which the record shows was formed on or about October 1961 by Mrs. Melitta del Villar. A large paid advertisement, published in the *New York Times* by the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee, was then introduced in evidence as del Villar Exhibit No. 2.

Mr. WILLIS. I think, Mr. Nittle, I remember that well because I presided over the hearings you are talking about. That organization was formed to raise funds for medical aid to Cuba.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a copy of that advertisement, now marked for identification as "Sutherland Exhibit No. 12."

You will note that this advertisement has as its purpose the solicitation of funds for the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee. At the bottom of the advertisement the following appears:

> Please mail your contribution today. Make checks payable to Elizabeth Sutherland, MACC [Medical Aid to Cuba Committee], Suite 409A, 147 West 33rd St., New York 1, N.Y. For further information Telephone LA 4-0729.

Are you the Elizabeth Sutherland referred to in this advertisement?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.

(Document marked "Sutherland Exhibit No. 12" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WILLIS. That is the second time instead of the first time that you used a name other than Elizabeth Sutherland?

Mr. LONDON. This says Elizabeth Sutherland?

Miss SUTHERLAND. This says Elizabeth Sutherland.

Mr. WILLIS. It does.

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir. The hearings relating to the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee were conducted upon the subject of propaganda activities of members and affiliates of the Communist Party of the United States for the legislative purpose of considering the advisability of amendments to the Foreign Agents Registration Act and the administration of that act. We are today continuing our investigation into activities of United States citizens acting on behalf of, or in

the interest of, foreign Communist principals, and for that reason I desire to pose the following questions to you:

Mrs. del Villar testified that the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee was formed on or about October 1961 and that you subsequently became a sponsor of that organization. I would like to ask if you actually participated in the formation of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. How long have you known Melitta del Villar?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Since the late fall or winter.

Mr. NITTLE. Beg pardon?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I would say since the late fall or winter of 1961.

Mr. NITTLE. Mrs. del Villar testified that she became acquainted with you during the summer of 1961.

Miss SUTHERLAND. Summer of 1961?

Mr. NITTLE. Of 1962.

Miss SUTHERLAND. That is probably more accurate. I was about to correct myself.

Mr. NITTLE. But you state "fall or winter," or have you changed that testimony?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I was about to correct it. I don't remember every single person I know. I am not sure it is relevant.

Mr. NITTLE. What were the circumstances under which you met Melitta del Villar?

Miss SUTHERLAND. As far as I can remember I was invited to some Medical Aid to Cuba function.

Mr. NITTLE. By whom was that invitation extended?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I think it was a mimeographed invitation from the committee.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know by what means this committee obtained your name and address?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I don't know.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Louis J. Amster, the husband of Mrs. del Villar?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. You say you do?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know that he has been a writer for the Communist *Daily Worker* and *New Masses?*

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. How long have you known Louis J. Amster?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I met him sometime after meeting his wife.

Mr. NITTLE. Could you tell us whether her husband, Louis J. Amster, participated in the activities of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I don't really see that this question is relevant, especially since you have had a hearing on this committee already.

Mr. NITTLE. May I state to you, Miss Sutherland, that the record indicates that the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee was Communist-controlled. This course of inquiry into your relationship with that organization and similar conduct, we believe, will assist the Congress in appraising your present activities in relation to your travel to Cuba. This and the following questions we propose to ask are in accordance with a principle of the law of evidence to the effect that past conduct

of a nature similar to that under present inquiry is relevant to show knowledge, disposition, and the purpose of the witness. Our inquiry relates to Communist propaganda activities.

Now, will you tell us, please, whether to your knowledge Louis J. Amster participated in the activities of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee of which his wife was ostensibly the chairman?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. NITTLE. We have reason to believe that you have knowledge of these inquiries because you have been listed as a sponsor of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee, and you are listed in the advertisement as a person to whom checks will be mailed on behalf of this organization.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. Mr. Amster was present at a number of social functions by the Medical Aid for Cuba Committee for fund-raising purposes. That is the extent of my knowledge of his participation in the committee's activities.

Mr. NITTLE. You will note that the advertisement in the *New York Times*, Exhibit No. 12, was published November 13, 1962. At that time an individual known as Sidney J. Gluck was treasurer of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee and so testified in hearings before this committee of Congress. It appears that you were performing functions in close association with Sidney J. Gluck as treasurer. Did you know Sidney J. Gluck?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. You have not known him?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. I met him and have been introduced, and that is all.

Mr. NITTLE. Beg pardon?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I have been introduced to him.

Mr. NITTLE. What did you do with the checks you received on behalf of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee? Didn't you deliver them to Sidney J. Gluck?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No, I did not.

Mr. NITTLE. To whom did you deliver them?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I acted as nominal treasurer for the purposes of this advertisement. I endorsed the checks received from contributors in the offices of the Medical Aid for Cuba Committee. That is, I endorsed some of the checks.

Mr. NITTLE. Mrs. del Villar testified that she thought the name Elizabeth Sutherland was a "beautiful name" and that it would be very attractive for this fund-raising purpose.

Mr. WILLIS. I remember that very distinctly. She said she wanted to have a person of prominence to use for that purpose. That is part of the way she described your association, that she needed a person of prominence and, therefore, used you. She said a few other things. She, too, said that association with you was very casual and so on.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Did you actually receive some of these checks yourself?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No. As you see, the checks were to be sent to the committee offices.

Mr. JOHANSEN. But they were made payable to you as treasurer?

Miss SUTHERLAND. They were made payable to me, not as treasurer, but just to me by name.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Who gave them to you to endorse?

Miss SUTHERLAND. They were held in the offices in their envelopes unopened until I came to endorse them at the offices.

Mr. JOHANSEN. And nobody handed you the envelopes to open so you could endorse the checks?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Mrs. del Villar was there in the office.

Mr. WILLIS. How about Gluck?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No, he was not in the offices on the occasions when I went there to endorse the checks.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Are you saying the woman whose name you mentioned is the one who gave you the envelopes to open so you could endorse the checks?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I don't think she, personally. I think it was one of her assistants, clerical assistants.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Who is she?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I don't know her name.

Mr. NITTLE. Was it Rose Apolloni?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I don't know that. There were a number of volunteer workers there, and I never was introduced to them.

Mr. NITTLE. You were aware that Sidney J. Gluck was the treasurer of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. The record reveals that Sidney J. Gluck has been identified by Mildred Blauvelt, who was an undercover operative of the New York Police, as a member of the Communist Party and an active recruiter for it for a number of years. It was also pointed out that Sidney J. Gluck had been active as an instructor at Communist Party training schools.

Did you know that Mr. Gluck had been so identified?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Gluck testified that he was brought into the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee by Dr. Louis Miller, whom he had known for a number of years. Dr. Louis Miller was identified in the course of the hearings as the medical director of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee and was functioning as such during the period you were receiving checks on behalf of this organization.

Did you know Dr. Louis Miller?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes, I met him.

Mr. NITTLE. How long have you known him?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I met him at the offices on one of the occasions following this advertisement when I went there.

Mr. NITTLE. In the course of the hearings it was pointed out that Dr. Louis Miller was one of the principal New York contacts during the 1940's of Arthur Alexandrovich Adams, a Soviet espionage agent who received intelligence from certain atomic scientists at the Manhattan Engineering District project. Later, in 1951, Louis F. Budenz, former editor of the Communist *Daily Worker* who subsequently broke from the party, testified in executive session before this committee that Dr. Miller had been active in organizing Communist physicians as well. Sidney J. Gluck testified that it was Dr. Louis Miller who brought him into the organization. I want

to inquire whether or not Dr. Louis Miller invited you to serve in the capacity in which you have served the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know these facts about Dr. Louis Miller which I have related, at the time you accepted this employment upon a committee of which he was the medical director and one of the founders?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. May I answer your question?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Miss SUTHERLAND. The answer to your question is no. I would like to add that my association with the committee was strictly based on my feeling that sending medicines to the Cuban people who were not able to obtain those medicines under the circumstances of that time was a very humanitarian thing to do.

Mr. NITTLE. The report about Dr. Louis Miller and his espionage activities was long ago published in a report by this committee. The report was filed on September 28, 1948, with the Congress, entitled *Report on Soviet Espionage Activities in Connection With the Atomic Bomb*. Did that fact come to your attention?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No, it did not.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you still serving on the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee?

Miss SUTHERLAND. The committee has been disbanded.

Mr. NITTLE. We have not received that information.[1] From whom did you receive the information that the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee has been disbanded?

Miss SUTHERLAND. There was an official letter which went out from the chairman to all sponsors and members.

Mr. WILLIS. Roughly when was that?

Miss SUTHERLAND. It was at the time when a large——

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes, a large indemnity was paid the Cuban Government which enabled them to buy drugs; and, therefore, the purpose of the committee, namely, to provide medicines to Cuban people was no longer——

Mr. WILLIS. At least that is what the letter said.

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Were you associated with the committee up until this time of actual termination of its existence?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I remained a sponsor, yes.

Mr. JOHANSEN. You did not let your dues lapse in this organization?

Miss SUTHERLAND. There were no dues.

Mr. NITTLE. James O'Connor, of whom we inquired earlier in these hearings, was a sponsor also of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee. We asked whether you knew him.

Miss SUTHERLAND. I believe I answered yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know him as a sponsor of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee?

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[1] Actually, the committee was aware of the dissolution of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee. This matter had not come to the attention of counsel.

Miss SUTHERLAND. Do you mean did I know him to be a sponsor?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes. Did you meet with him at any of the meetings of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Before I conclude the staff interrogation I should like to pose a few remaining questions. Do you know that Leroy McLucas has recently written articles for a publication entitled *New Horizons for Youth* and has also furnished photographs to illustrate an article?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. I show you a photostatic copy of that publication marked for identification as "Sutherland Exhibit No. 13."

Mr. Chairman, I offer that issue of *New Horizons for Youth* for the record, to be retained in the committee's files.

Mr. WILLIS. It will be received.

(Document marked "Sutherland Exhibit No. 13" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Are you aware, Miss Sutherland, that in the summer of 1962 the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation publicly announced that the Communist Party was engaged in an extensive campaign to capture the minds of youth of this Nation and had implemented its program by the establishment of a new Communist national publication entitled *New Horizons for Youth?*

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Mr. McLucas to be a member of the Communist Party?

(Witness conferred with counsel).

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Did he ever communicate any information on that subject to you?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. I posed this question to one witness who has testified, Mr. Jerome, stating that the committee has received information from reliable sources that certain United States citizens traveling to Cuba were called upon to answer a questionnaire.

Mr. LONDON. That question has already been answered.

Mr. NITTLE. Did I ask that?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. I did not remember whether I asked you that.

Mr. LONDON. The witness said no, she had never been given such a questionnaire.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you sign or file any writing at the Cuban Writers and Artists Congress with that group?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you give your name and address to it?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you received any correspondence subsequently from it?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Or from those whom you knew to be in attendance there?

Miss SUTHERLAND. From Cubans who were in attendance there?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Miss SUTHERLAND. I have received personal letters from one or two Cuban writers whom I met there.

Mr. NITTLE. The staff has no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. I would like to ask just a few questions. Although I don't remember the dates, and those would be unimportant for the purpose of the few questions I have, it would seem from what has been developed in the record that the passport or the application for passport by Mr. McLucas was denied by the New York office of the State Department. That is correct, is it not? Then that action was overruled at the Washington level, and he did receive a passport. On this Exhibit No. 7 we have the stated reasons for overruling the action of the New York office. It reads:

Mr. McCloskey discussed case with Lincoln White and they recommend Mr. McLucas be permitted to go to Cuba since he has letter of assignment from Simon and Schuster.

What you construed your letter, apparently from your own testimony, to be was simply an aid in having the passport validated. But I see these significant words which, as a lawyer I would say, probably prompted the action in overruling the State Department official in New York, and these words are, "since he has letter of assignment."

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Willis, may I answer that question as one lawyer.

Mr. WILLIS. Let me complete it. So it would seem to me that he misused the letter. It seems as though someone here got the impression that this tentative general discussion about photographs was the thing that caused the granting of the passport. Is not that the way you construe this thing?

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Willis, that is the way Mr. White may have construed it. But I think the letter was clear that Simon and Schuster was merely interested in publishing a book if, as, and when it was produced. This book came in a year late, and they were no longer interested.

Mr. WILLIS. I understand that, Mr. Counselor.

Mr. LONDON. There is no letter of commitment. I think this was the State Department's interpretation of a letter and I think you are as qualified to construe it as any member of the State Department.

Mr. WILLIS. Yes, I understand that. What I have in mind goes much deeper than that. Here you have a man who applied for a passport and that application was rejected. Why? Do you know why it was rejected?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you know it had been rejected?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you know it had been rejected before you signed that letter?

Mr. LONDON. May I correct the record, please?

Mr. WILLIS. She is answering.

Miss SUTHERLAND. There is a misstatement that you made, and I want to correct it.

Mr. WILLIS. I don't want to misstate the facts.

Miss SUTHERLAND. The passport was granted to England. Then an application was made for validation for Cuba. That was rejected.

Mr. WILLIS. To that extent I stand corrected. In any event he applied for a passport to go to Cuba, and that application was rejected. The New York office of the State Department did not reject it for "no cause." There was some reason for rejecting it. I can guess why. But I am asking you, Do you know why?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No, I do not.

Mr. WILLIS. Then was it after that he obtained a letter from you?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No, excuse me.

Mr. WILLIS. He had the letter before?

Miss SUTHERLAND. The letter from me was submitted with his original application for validation.

Mr. WILLIS. In New York. All right, then Mr. McLucas comes to Washington, or asks someone in Washington representing him to go to the State Department here, and apparently not on his own as an individual, but he got by and procured a passport on the basis of the facts that he had some kind of assignment from you. He may have overplayed it. I suspect he did. But it seems to me that the crux of the reason for the actions was this letter that was, let us say, misused if you did not intend it that way, that he could not go on his own, but as your representative or having a contract with you of some kind, on that basis he was given a passport. I can't construe it any other way. Either you did it on purpose or it seems to me probably you have been used.

(At this point Mr. Tuck entered the hearing room.)

Miss SUTHERLAND. The letter which I gave to Mr. McLucas for him to submit to get his passport validated for travel to Cuba was in order.

Mr. WILLIS. I am not disputing that. I am not disputing its date. Apparently in the chronology of events, you signed that letter before the action of the New York office of the Passport Division of the State Department. I accept that. But then stress was obviously put on that letter because the reason for overruling New York was that he had a letter of assignment.

Miss SUTHERLAND. That letter was originally submitted, and his application was rejected on the basis of my letter.

Mr. WILLIS. That may be true. They had it all right. I think it was used as a basis at the Washington level to overrule the New York office. Anyway, you don't know why it was rejected?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I don't know and I am not responsible.

Mr. WILLIS. Don't you see the second instance, where perhaps it is either on purpose or again someone is using someone? This ad, concluding with the sentence, "Please mail your contribution today. Make checks payable to Elizabeth Sutherland." You knew very little about it. You were solicited and permitted the use of your name. By the way, Mrs. del Villar just about said that. She wanted a person of prominence to act as the recipient of these checks.

Miss SUTHERLAND. Are you inviting me to comment?

Mr. WILLIS. This is really an observation of my interpretation of the evidence.

Miss SUTHERLAND. My willingness to have my name appear on that ad was based on the fact that I thought the committee's work was for a good cause, and I was personally impressed by Mrs. del Villar.

Mr. WILLIS. Of course, it would take too long to review the testimony of what that committee was really formed for and the contacts they had in Cuba and the person to whom those medical supplies were

sent. The impression given by three physicians from Cuba who testified here leads to the irresistible conclusion that it was not a question of humanitarianism. I am suggesting that this demonstrates how sometimes we are taken in.

I show you this exhibit which has been passed to me, which is a photo by Leroy McLucas, Sutherland Exhibit No. 13. Is that one of the photographs he showed to you in your office?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. WILLIS. Attached to that photograph as part of the exhibit is the editorial page with comments "About Our Writers" and then it says this:

LEROY MCLUCAS, the creator of 'Brigadistas' photographs, has recently completed a documentary film concerning the volunteer sugar workers in Cuba, during the harvest of 1962 * * *.

Are those the photographs he was going to get in order to compile the book about the workers of Cuba?

Miss SUTHERLAND. That is a film which is referred to there. I was interested in still photographs.

Mr. WILLIS. What about the photographs?

Miss SUTHERLAND. None of the still photographs covered this subject.

Mr. WILLIS. And another writer, Gary Landis, do you know him?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. WILLIS. A "college graduate from Philadelphia, has visited Cuba and worked actively to counter the propaganda barrage against Cuba," and he is right next to McLucas. It would seem if they were that close buddies to appear on the same editorial page that perhaps Mr. McLucas had something else besides taking photographs in mind when he went to Cuba. You would not know?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. WILLIS. That is all.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Miss Sutherland, did any of the pictures in the film which you saw in the loft in New York City deal with the harvesting of the sugar crop or the sugar workers?

Miss SUTHERLAND. That was the film I mentioned which was shown.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Is that the one you saw?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.

Mr. JOHANSEN. What basically did this film portray? What was its broad theme?

Miss SUTHERLAND. It is a documentary showing Cubans and cutting sugarcane on a weekend.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Was there any running, written or oral, commentary?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Only music.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Was there any commentary made by Mr. McLucas in conjunction with the showing of the film?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No. Nothing but a brief introduction of the title and what the subject was.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Back to an earlier area of questioning, reference was made by counsel to the report of the Swiss Embassy official to the Department of State in Washington before they would issue the passport for his return to the United States, and the statement from that report was quoted to the effect that McLucas has very strong political

convictions in favor of the actual Cuban Government, even against his own country. There is the further statement that in view of the declarations of Mr. McLucas against his country, we submit his case to the consideration of the Department of State before delivering him a passport.

If I recall your response to a question as to whether Mr. McLucas had expressed strong political convictions in favor of the actual Cuban Government, even against his own country, you indicated you could not or were not disposed to answer it because of its general terms. I don't want to bandy words with you, but I submit in view of this further statement by a Swiss official, who apparently was capable of recognizing this sort of thing, in view of the declaration also of Mr. McLucas against his country, I now ask you, Did he at any time in your presence or to you indulge in declarations against his country?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Then you are able to answer that categorically as no, is that correct?

Miss SUTHERLAND. That is correct.

Mr. JOHANSEN. That is all for the moment.

Mr. BRUCE. Miss Sutherland, I will not try to detain you much longer. I know you are tired. Most of what we have discussed today dealt entirely with what you termed the humanitarianism of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee, and you indicated some curiosity about seeing Cuba for yourself and going there, and what you perhaps would term the humanitarian interest of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Miss Sutherland, have you ever participated in other humanitarian interest operating on a worldwide scale? Committees and organizations?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I was an employee of the United Nations Secretariat for 5 years.

Mr. NITTLE. May I interject and ask under what name you were employed by the United Nations Secretariat?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I was employed there under the full passport name which I mentioned originally, Elizabeth Sutherland Martinez.

Mr. BRUCE. What was your position there?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I was a research assistant in the Department of Trusteeship and Governmental Territories.

Mr. BRUCE. Do you normally when somebody comes to you and asks you to sign a public ad, is it something you normally say, "Okay, I will sign my name to it." Is this standard practice for you?

Miss SUTHERLAND. No, it is not standard practice.

Mr. BRUCE. Are you a signer of an ad that appeared in the *National Guardian* on July 16, 1962, entitled "THE RIGHT TO SANCTUARY," dealing with Robert A. Soblen and appealing to England and appealing to the public to demand that England grant sanctuary to Dr. Soblen?

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.

Mr. BRUCE. How did you happen to sign that ad?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I had followed the case fairly closely. I was asked to sign the ad.

Mr. BRUCE. Who asked you to sign the ad.

Miss SUTHERLAND. One or two of the other signers.

Mr. BRUCE. Let us go down the list. Charles R. Allen, Jr.

Miss SUTHERLAND. No.

Mr. BRUCE. Leroi Jones.
Miss SUTHERLAND. No.
Mr. BRUCE. Larry Moyer.
Miss SUTHERLAND. No.
Mr. BRUCE. Howard Schulman.
Miss SUTHERLAND. No.
Mr. BRUCE. John Simon. John J. Simon.
Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.
Mr. BRUCE He asked you to sign the ad.
Miss SUTHERLAND. As far as I remember.
Mr. BRUCE. You did willingly and knowingly, out of what you termed earlier in another case humanitarian interests——
Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.
Mr. BRUCE. —allow your name to be used in this ad appealing for sanctuary in England for Dr. Soblen?
Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.
Mr. BRUCE. I have no further questions.
Mr. JOHANSEN. During what period were you with the United Nations Secretariat?
Miss SUTHERLAND. From 1948 to 1952. No, I am sorry, from 1947 to 1952.
Mr. JOHANSEN. Earlier in the questioning, you testified regarding the fact that there were not more than a half dozen Americans in Cuba at the time you were there.
Miss SUTHERLAND. I said that was my impression.
Mr. JOHANSEN. Could you give us the names of the others that were there?
(Witness conferred with counsel.)
Miss SUTHERLAND. I have declined to answer that question.
Mr. JOHANSEN. You mean by that you refuse to answer?
Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes.
Mr. JOHANSEN. I ask you, Mr. Chairman, to instruct the witness to answer the question.
Mr. WILLIS. Let me lead up to it. Was Mrs. del Villar one of them?
(Witness conferred with counsel.)
Miss SUTHERLAND. Mr. Chairman, I will answer that one question. I do not want to answer any more questions on this subject because I do not feel it is an appropriate part of this inquiry.
Mr. WILLIS. That is exactly what I caution you. That is exactly what forces you to answer the next one.
Miss SUTHERLAND. Then I will have to decline to answer them all.
Mr. WILLIS. I will be fair with you. You can't open the door and close it to suit your convenience as a matter of law. Wr. Dr. Miller one of them?
Miss SUTHERLAND. I have declined to answer all questions about people.
Mr. WILLIS. Was Mr. Gluck one of them?
Miss SUTHERLAND. In Cuba. My answer is the same.
Mr. WILLIS. Could you at least be more accurate than to say that there was less than half a dozen. Would you want to be at least more accurate and say the number?
Miss SUTHERLAND. I do not know the precise number.
Mr. WILLIS. It could have been more than half a dozen.

Miss SUTHERLAND. It could have been. I would not necessarily meet every American in Havana. It is not that small a place.

Mr. WILLIS. How many of those of the more-or-less half a dozen did you know and recognize?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I am sorry, I decline to answer.

Mr. WILLIS. You see, these hearings have for their purpose under a Federal law the application of our laws relating to foreign travel in a country where travel is barred and banned without proper papers. We have some considerable number. I said that in my opening statement. We are not playing around when we say that. It means that our staff had to go to the State Department and pull out the passports. Some of them may or may not be on our list. It is important to us, to be able to make a report of what is going on, to have those names. I said a while ago this morning that I would pass that up for the time being. But in view of all the other testimony and the questions asked of you and your answers to them, I now conclude as chairman of this subcommittee that is a proper request. Therefore, I order you to answer that question.

Miss SUTHERLAND. Mr. Chairman, this committee is asking me to inform about other people. I do not wish to do that for reasons I have already explained. I think I have done my best to answer all other types of questions you have put to me here today. But I will not provide information about other people.

Mr. WILLIS. Yes, and I appreciate that. But upon the other hand, under our system, if you want to compare it to any legal procedure, one cannot be witness to an occurrence, whether civil or criminal, and say, "I don't want to involve my friends and I don't want to name any names," It does not work that way.

This does not lead to any particular proceeding against anyone, it has to do with passage of laws within the jurisdiction of this Congress and this committee. I know your hesitancy. I appreciate it. You have answered all questions, perhaps not as fully as we would have liked and probably you know more than you have said—and I am not saying that in an ugly way—but at least you have answered differently from the preceding witness and for that we are thankful. But I must say that under the circumstances, taking all of the testimony as a whole, the order is a proper one and, therefore, without any further ado and for the sake of the record in the presence of your counsel, I make the order, since I understand that you persist in your attitude of refusals.

Miss SUTHERLAND. I do not understand why the committee needs names named by me in order to pass laws.

[Applause.]

Mr. WILLIS. That is the sort of thing that does not get anyone anywhere, this performance. On the one hand, frequently it is said that we act upon phantom witnesses and phantom testimony and we do not want names. Here is an opportunity, and, as I say, you refuse to answer, and we will let the record remain in the condition it is.

Governor?

Mr. TUCK. I have one question, Mr. Chairman.

Would the witness care to tell us under what circumstances she left the employment of the United Nations?

Miss SUTHERLAND. I felt that I could not advance further in my position there under the circumstances.

Mr. TUCK. Under the circumstances. That is what I asked.

Miss SUTHERLAND. Yes. It was necessary to have some additional degrees in special listed fields which I was not inclined to acquire.

Mr. TUCK. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. The witness is excused.

Mr. WILLIS. The committee will stand in recess for not over 5 minutes.

(A short recess was taken at which time the following members were present: Representatives Willis, Tuck, and Johansen, of the subcommittee, and also Pool, Bruce, Schadeberg, and Ashbrook.)

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will be in order.

Call your next witness.

Mr. NITTLE. Conrad Joseph Lynn, please come forward.

Mr. WILLIS. Will you raise your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LYNN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF CONRAD JOSEPH LYNN, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, DAVID SHAPIRO

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state your full name and residence for the record?

Mr. LYNN. Conrad J. Lynn, Sky View Acres, Pomona, New York.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. LYNN. I am.

Mr. NITTLE. Would counsel please identify himself for the record, stating his name and office address?

Mr. SHAPIRO. David Shapiro, 1411 K Street NW., Washington 5, D.C.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Lynn, would you state the date and place of your birth?

Mr. LYNN. November 4, 1908, Newport, Rhode Island.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you relate the extent of your formal education, including dates of attendance at educational institutions and any degrees received?

Mr. LYNN. Graduate of Malvern, Long Island, New York, High School in 1926. A.B. from Syracuse University, 1930. LL.B. from Syracuse University in 1932.

Mr. NITTLE. What is your present occupation?

Mr. LYNN. I am a lawyer.

Mr. NITTLE. Where do you maintain your office?

Mr. LYNN. 401 Broadway, New York City.

Mr. NITTLE. In what states have you been licensed to practice law?

Mr. LYNN. Only New York State.

Mr. NITTLE. How long have you actively engaged in the practice of law?

Mr. LYNN. Thirty years.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you had any other employment since graduation from law school and, if so, will you state what it was?

Mr. LYNN. Yes. I had temporary employment shortly after leaving law school. One was working or doing the research for a Ph. D.

thesis in New York City for another person. Then I was on WPA as a research assistant from 1934 and some years after.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Lynn, you have heard the chairman's opening statement; have you not?

Mr. LYNN. I have.

Mr. NITTLE. You know, then, in this hearing the committee, among other matters, is inquiring into the matter of U.S. citizens who have traveled to Cuba since January 16, 1961, in violation of State Department regulations.

The mere fact that a witness has been subpenaed to testify in this hearing does not mean that he is accused of violating these travel regulations, but only that the committee has reason to believe that he possesses information which may be helpful to the committee in its inquiry.

We hope that you, as an American citizen, will cooperate fully in this inquiry which is being conducted in the interest of the country.

Have you, Mr. Lynn, traveled to Cuba since January 16, 1961?

Mr. LYNN. Yes, I have.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you have a passport validated for such travel?

Mr. LYNN. I did.

Mr. NITTLE. Was this issued on January 16, 1962?

Mr. LYNN. It was, I believe, January 17th, if I am not mistaken.

Mr. NITTLE. I think that date would be close enough.

Had you traveled to Cuba prior to 1962?

Mr. LYNN. Yes, I had.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state when and for what period?

Mr. LYNN. That was in the summer of 1960. I was in Cuba with my family for about 10 days at the end of July 1960 and the beginning of August.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, with respect to the year 1962, after receiving your passport on or about January 16, 1962, what was the date of your departure from the United States?

Mr. LYNN. I believe it was February 2, 1962.

Mr. NITTLE. How did you travel to Cuba?

Mr. LYNN. I traveled by Pan American Airways.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the date of your arrival in Cuba?

Mr. LYNN. February 2d.

Mr. NITTLE. On what date did you leave Cuba?

Mr. LYNN. February 6th, I believe, or 7th.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you return to the United States directly from Cuba?

Mr. LYNN. No, I did not.

Mr. NITTLE. What was your itinerary?

Mr. LYNN. I was flown to Gander, Newfoundland, and from Newfoundland I came in by plane through Montreal to New York City.

Mr. NITTLE. Was there any purpose, or what were the circumstances, under which you were flown to Gander and through Montreal to New York City?

Mr. LYNN. When I was on the way to Cuba—I had a one-way ticket—when I got to Miami, Government officials told me that they would not permit me to board the plane for Cuba unless I bought a return ticket to Miami, and I then bought a return ticket to Miami. But when I inquired for passage back to Miami in Cuba, the first re-

sponse of Pan American was that they had to give priority to Cuban refugees flying into the United States and they could not be sure when I could get a trip back.

In addition to that, I was informed by the man who was my host that the Cuban Government had gotten information that if I went back to Miami I would be turned over to the Miami City Police and my life would be in danger. Therefore, it was decided to send me by plane to Gander, Newfoundland.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Lynn, the committee investigation discloses that a number of other American citizens appeared to have traveled to Cuba without validated passports and were in Cuba at or about the time you were there. The committee desires to obtain information with respect to their presence and activities in Cuba. I would, therefore, like to ask you whether you met or saw certain persons during your stay in Cuba.

Did you meet a person named Helen Travis?

Mr. LYNN. I don't recall that name.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Helen Travis?

Mr. LYNN. I don't recall the name. I met some people down there for the first time. I met some Americans and I met people of many other nationalities.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you meet a person named Azalena Johnson?

Mr. LYNN. I know Mrs. Johnson, if that is the same Mrs. Johnson from Monroe, N.C., and I believe that is the same person. Yes, she was there.

Mr. NITTLE. What were the circumstances of your meeting Azalena Johnson?

Mr. LYNN. She is a witness in a kidnaping trial that I have in Monroe, N.C. She is a necessary witness to that trial, and I looked her up so that I might get her testimony.

Mr. WILLIS. In other words, she was in Cuba before you were.

Mr. LYNN. I don't know when she got to Cuba. I do know I was able to find her there and I talked to her about the case.

Mr. NITTLE. She was not your client?

Mr. LYNN. No, she is not one of the defendants. I represent the defendants, and they are my clients.

Mr. NITTLE. Who are they?

Mr. LYNN. Robert F. Williams and, at that time, May Mallory and Harold Reape, Richard Crowder. These are my defendants.

Mr. NITTLE. Did Azalena Johnson disclose to you her means of travel to Cuba?

Mr. LYNN. She did not disclose them to me, and I did not inquire.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you meet a person named Mark David Schleifer?

Mr. LYNN. I don't remember that name at all. I know I didn't meet anybody by that name.

Mr. NITTLE. I take it you had not previously been introduced to him.

Mr. LYNN. No. I found out about him later, after I returned to the United States.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you meet a person named Beth Wolland?

Mr. LYNN. No, I don't recall that name.

Mr. NITTLE. It is also the committee's information, Mr. Lynn, that certain persons who, for one reason or another, had obtained valida-

tions for travel to Cuba were there at the time of your visit. Did you, during your visit, meet a person named Joseph P. Morray?

Mr. LYNN. No, I didn't.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Joseph P. Morray?

Mr. LYNN. No, I did not know him then and I do not know him now.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you meet a person named Leroy McLucas?

Mr. LYNN. No, I never met him.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you meet a person named Gerald Manuel Quinn?

Mr. LYNN. I knew a Quinn, a Gerald Quinn, in the United States. If my memory is not incorrect, I may have seen him there.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us the circumstances under which you met with Gerald Manuel Quinn?

Mr. LYNN. Mr. Quinn was also a witness in Monroe, North Carolina. When I saw my defendants, I ascertained that I could also talk to him about the events in Monroe, North Carolina.

Mr. NITTLE. He was the executive secretary of the Monroe Defense Committee, was he not, at that time?

Mr. LYNN. If he was, I didn't know it.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know where Gerald Manuel Quinn is presently?

Mr. LYNN. No, I don't.

Mr. WILLIS. You refer to defendants in the Monroe, North Carolina, incident?

Mr. LYNN. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. I am not quite clear. They were not in Cuba, were they?

Mr. LYNN. One of them was. That is Robert Williams.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you meet with Robert Williams in Cuba?

Mr. LYNN. That is the reason I went down there, and I met him.

Mr. NITTLE. Was he your client at the time you met with him?

Mr. LYNN. Yes, and he had been for a number of years.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you discuss with him the route which he took to Cuba when he fled from the United States?

Mr. LYNN. No, I didn't discuss with him the route. I knew the route, more or less.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us the route he took?

Mr. LYNN. Well, we reconstituted the underground railroad, and he got out through Canada.

Mr. NITTLE. When you stated "We reconstituted the underground railroad," to whom do you refer as "we"?

Mr. LYNN. The friends of Robert Williams who were interested in seeing that he was not persecuted because of his stand that Negroes have the right to defend themselves from attack.

Mr. NITTLE. Were any of the persons to whom you refer as "we" known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. LYNN. No.

Mr. NITTLE. During your brief stay in Cuba, were you required or requested to, or did you, execute any questionnaire posed to you by Cuban officials?

Mr. LYNN. No. The North Carolina Superior Court in Union County had been queried on the question of whether a commission to take testimony of Robert Williams could be constituted in Cuba,

and that was one of the reasons I was there, and subsequently that testimony was taken and filed with the Superior Court.

Mr. WILLIS. He is not referring to that. He is talking about the possibility of Cuban Government officials or someone in Cuba questioning you as a visitor to Cuba.

Mr. LYNN. No, not as far as I know. I had conversations. Of course, I don't speak Spanish, so I could only talk to people who spoke English.

Mr. NITTLE. I would like to interrogate you in a little more detail with respect to the underground railroad. Do you mean to say this was a means constituted to assist persons to depart from the United States and to enter Cuba in evasion of the passport regulations and laws?

Mr. LYNN. This was a means to prevent what I considered to be an illegal persecution of Robert Williams. I can go into that if you want me to.

Mr. NITTLE. No. I want to inquire whether you were assisting in the establishment of a means of entrance into Cuba that was contrary to the laws of the United States and its regulations.

Mr. LYNN. When Mr. Williams left the State of North Carolina, he was not in violation of any law, so that when it came to my knowledge subsequently that he had gotten through Canada, I felt, and still feel, that he was not in violation of any law in his traveling through the United States.

Mr. NITTLE. He left for Cuba sometime after the Monroe incident of August 1961; is that not correct?

Mr. LYNN. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. Did Mr. Williams have a passport validated for travel to Cuba?

Mr. LYNN. I don't know.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the necessity of an underground if he had a validated passport?

Mr. LYNN. The necessity was in the United States of America, not in Cuba. That was the reason.

Mr. NITTLE. You have no knowledge as to whether or not he had a validated passport to travel to Cuba?

Mr. LYNN. No, I don't.

Mr. NITTLE. While in Cuba, did you discuss with Robert Williams his activities in connection with his Radio Free Dixie radio propaganda broadcasts from Havana?

Mr. LYNN. I believe at the time I was talking to Robert Williams he was planning, or was in the process of getting or having, such a program setup.

Mr. NITTLE. It appears that, upon your return from Cuba, you assumed certain lecture engagements to speak on the subject of Cuba. I hand you, for example, a photostatic copy of page 11 of the pro-Communist publication *National Guardian*, dated April 9, 1962, and marked for identification as "Lynn Exhibit No. 1," which carried the following notice:

> Hear CONRAD LYNN on recent developments in Cuba; slides, questions and answers. Ausp: West Side Committee for Friendly Relations With Cuba. Thurs., April 26, 8 p.m., Beacon Hotel, B'way & 75 St.

Did you speak at the Beacon Hotel on that occasion?

Mr. LYNN. I did.

(Document marked "Lynn Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Were the arrangements for this address made by the West Side Committee for Friendly Relations With Cuba?

Mr. LYNN. I assume they were, since I got the invitation from this committee.

Mr. NITTLE. By whom were you contacted from that group, or did you contact them for this purpose?

Mr. LYNN. No. I was contacted by someone representing the West Side Committee and I agreed to speak.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell the committee who contacted you from that group?

Mr. LYNN. I don't know the name of anyone who contacted me.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you a member of the West Side Committee for Friendly Relations With Cuba?

Mr. LYNN. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know who the officers of this group are?

Mr. LYNN. No, I don't.

Mr. NITTLE. From whom did you obtain the slides exhibited at your lecture on Cuba?

Mr. LYNN. I didn't exhibit any slides.

Mr. NITTLE. Then the report of the *National Guardian* is not a correct report?

Mr. LYNN. The *National Guardian* doesn't say I was going to exhibit the slides.

Mr. WILLIS. Were slides exhibited?

Mr. LYNN. Yes, slides were exhibited.

Mr. NITTLE. By whom?

Mr. LYNN. By someone else there. I don't know.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you exhibited slides at any other meeting under the auspices of the West Side Committee for Friendly Relations With Cuba?

Mr. LYNN. No, I have never exhibited any slides in my life. I am not a photographer and I don't have slides on Cuba in my possession.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you recall if Mr. McLucas exhibited those slides?

Mr. LYNN. No, I don't know who exhibited the slides. That name McLucas, the first time I can remember hearing that was in this committee room.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Lynn, this was not the first time you appeared under the auspices of the West Side Committee for Friendly Relations With Cuba; was it?

Mr. LYNN. I don't know.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you subsequently make an appearance on behalf of that organization?

Mr. LYNN. If I made it subsequently that would have been the first time.

Mr. NITTLE. I don't understand what you mean by that. You appeared at some other time before the West Side Committee for Friendly Relations With Cuba?

Mr. LYNN. I have appeared at many, many organizations; and if you could give me the date, I might be able to recall.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a copy of the *National Guardian* dated September 18, 1961, marked for identification as "Lynn Exhibit No.

2," and direct your attention to a notice appearing on page 8 which reads as follows:

MEETING

Cuban-American Relations

Thurs., Sept. 28—8 p.m.

CARLETON TERRACE
100th St. & Broadway

Among the speakers

Corliss Lamont
Conrad Lynn
Melitta del Villar

Movies Adm. 50¢

Ausp: West Side Comm. for
Friendly Relations with Cuba

Incidentally, "Melitta del Villar" is another name with which we have become familiar in this and other hearings.

Did you appear at the Carlton Terrace and speak at that meeting?

Mr. LYNN. Yes, that was after my first trip to Cuba.

(Document marked "Lynn Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Will you tell us who invited you to deliver that address?

Mr. LYNN. Someone from that committee, I assume. I don't have any independent recollection.

Mr. NITTLE. You have acted under the auspices of that committee at least on two occasions we have pointed out and you cannot tell us the name of the person who invited you to deliver this address?

Mr. LYNN. No. I have spoken for many, many, many organizations and I do not have any independent recollection of anybody who invited me for this West Side Committee.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you introduced to any of the officers of the West Side Committee at the time you were speaking there?

Mr. LYNN. No. I was introduced to the other speakers on the platform.

Mr. NITTLE. Did Corliss Lamont and Melitta del Villar appear upon the same platform with you as reported in the *National Guardian?*

Mr. LYNN. Yes, they did.

Mr. NITTLE. Corliss Lamont has been repeatedly identified and is publicly known as a Communist.

Mr. LYNN. I don't believe that to be true.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know him, or did you know him, to be such at the time you addressed this meeting with him?

Mr. LYNN. No. I knew him to be a professor of philosophy and that is his reputation with me throughout the years. I do not know him to be a member of the Communist Party and I do not believe him to be a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Melitta del Villar prior to this occasion?

Mr. LYNN. I may have met her once before that at another meeting for the Puerto Rican people.

Mr. NITTLE. Prior to your visit to Cuba in February 1962, did you make any arrangements with the West Side Committee for Friendly Relations With Cuba to lecture on Cuba after your visit there?

Mr. LYNN. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Was it one of your purposes in going to Cuba in February 1962 to be able to relate this experience for the purpose of being more persuasive as a propagandist promoting the Cuban revolutionary regime?

Mr. LYNN. No. I wanted to be more persuasive as a speaker on the case of Monroe, North Carolina, and my principal defendant was in Cuba.

Mr. NITTLE. The committee has information that at the West Side Committee for Friendly Relations With Cuba meeting, which was held on September 28, 1961, at the Carleton Terrace, and to which I referred in Exhibit No. 2, there were approximately 500 people in attendance at that meeting. Is that your memory?

Mr. LYNN. Yes. It was approximately that number.

Mr. NITTLE. Was not the chairman of this meeting Jesse Gordon, who is the public relations and editorial consultant of a magazine called *The Nation?*

Mr. LYNN. I don't recall that he was the chairman. I don't know the man except I may have been introduced to him once. I just don't recall whether he was the chairman.

Mr. NITTLE. As a matter of fact, he gave you a rather glowing introduction as the first speaker. Did he not introduce you as a lawyer and fighter for civil liberties?

Mr. LYNN. If he was the chairman, he might very well have done that.

Mr. NITTLE. The report of your address at that meeting seems to indicate that your subject was solely Cuba. Do you recollect saying this, or words to this effect:

> The Cubans are working out a new way of life. We want that way of life to succeed because it represents an advance over anything we have known. It is true that the United States is the wealthiest country on earth but it is not true that its vistas are as great as the vistas that have been opened for the Cuban people. . . . We have the power to seize the reins of our new future and to mold it more closely for the welfare of the people. This is the lesson of the Cuban revolution to us.
>
> Last year I felt that we had to go to Cuba. We went to Cuba and took the kids with us. We took them because we were told at the Pan American ticket counter that it was dangerous to take the children to Cuba because Russian troops were patrolling the streets of Havana. We went to Trinidad and the Pan American people cancelled the remainder of the flight. They would not take us to Cuba. We then went to Puerto Rico and had to arrange in Puerto Rico for another plane to get us to Cuba. They did not want us there because we could demonstrate to the people the lies that the American government had fostered about Cuba. In Cuba, for the first time, we knew what it meant to walk down the street as a free man . . . by keeping the light of the Cuban revolution aloft, the destiny of all the masses will be advanced.

Mr. LYNN. That may very well be completely accurate.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, Mr. Lynn, have you registered or applied for registration under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938?

Mr. LYNN. No, I have not.

Mr. NITTLE. I believe that you have publicly admitted your membership at one period in the Young Communist League, as well as your membership in the Communist Party. Were you a member of the Young Communist League at any time?

Mr. LYNN. Yes, I was.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, would you tell us the period of your membership in the Young Communist League?

Mr. LYNN. 1928 to 1931.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you thereafter become a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LYNN. Yes, in 1934.

Mr. NITTLE. How long did you remain an official member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LYNN. I was expelled from the Communist Party in February 1937.

Mr. NITTLE. Then your association with the Communist Party was not voluntarily terminated on your part?

Mr. LYNN. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a photostatic copy of page 1 of the *Daily Worker*.

Mr. SHAPIRO. Will you fix the date, please?

Mr. NITTLE. Dated May 13, 1957, marked for identification as "Lynn Exhibit No. 3."

Therein appears an announcement of the formation of the American Forum For Socialist Education. In the continuation of that story on page 7, the name Conrad Lynn appears as a member of the 40-member National Committee of this organization.

Did you, in fact, join as a National Committee member in the establishment of that organization?

Mr. LYNN. I certainly joined, but I was not a committee member right away. I don't have an independent recollection. This may very well be accurate.

Mr. NITTLE. I offer Exhibit No. 3 for the record.

Mr. WILLIS. Let the exhibit be incorporated in the record.

(Document marked "Lynn Exhibit No. 3" follows.)

LYNN EXHIBIT No. 3

Daily Worker

Entered as second class matter Oct. 21, 1927, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879

Vol. XXXIV, No. 93 (8 Pages)

New York, Monday, May 13, 1957 Price 10 Cents

Announce Formation of United Socialist Forum

Establishment of a forty-member national committee of the American Forum For Socialist Education was announced yesterday by A. J. Muste, well-known pacifist, who will serve as chairman of the group. Secretary of the group is Sidney Lens, author and director of Local 329, AFL, of Chicago.

The statement of purpose declares that American Forum seeks to promote "study and serious untrammeled political discussions among all elements that think of themselves as related to historic socialist and labor traditions, values and objectives . . . however deep and bitter their differences may have been."

Muste emphasized that persons serving on the National Committee do so as individuals and not as delegated representatives of any group. American Forum proceeds on the conviction, said Muste, that "individuals from all tendencies should be involved in the discussion, provided they commit themselves to a free exchange of views in a spirit of inquiry."

He further stated that American Forum is not a membership organization and does not propose to promote united action by various parties or groups, mergers or new organizations. It "neither promotes nor seeks to inhibit such developments" in which people may wish to engage.

Vice presidents of the Forum are Kermit Eby, professor of economics, University of Chicago; Milton Mayer, author Carmel, Calif.; John T. McManus, managing editor, Nadonal Guardian, New York; Bayard Austin, one of the editors of Liberation magazine; and Mulford Sibley of the Political Science faculty, University of Minnesota.

Among the 40 members of the Forum's National Committee are two leading members of the Communist Party, Doxey Wilkerson and Albert Blumberg.

The Forum's statement of purpose follows:

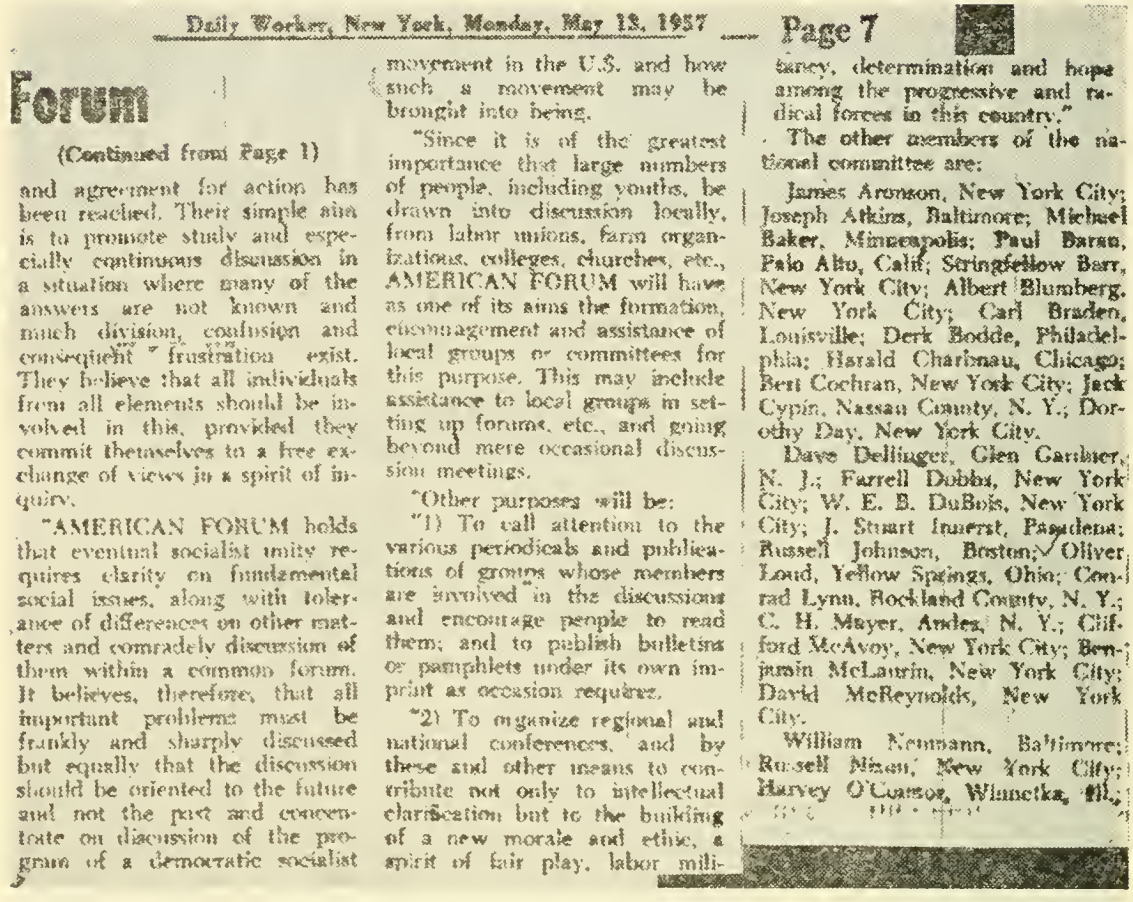
"AMERICAN FORUM is organized in order to stimulate study and serious, untrammelled discussion of the problems of socialism in the United States.

"There is a growing interest in such discussion among all elements that think of themselves as related to historic socialist and labor traditions, values and objectives — however deep and bitter their differences may have been. Moreover, there are indications that in the ranks of labor, among farmers, in the colleges and among the American people generally there are many who do not accept the status quo and who are developing an interest in political discussions provided a fresh and undogmatic approach is undertaken.

"Those who organize AMERICAN FORUM do so not on the ground that the problems of building a sound and effective American left have been solved

(Continued on Page 7)

LYNN EXHIBIT No. 3—Continued



Daily Worker, New York, Monday, May 13, 1957 Page 7

Forum

(Continued from Page 1)

and agreement for action has been reached. Their simple aim is to promote study and especially continuous discussion in a situation where many of the answers are not known and much division, confusion and consequent frustration exist. They believe that all individuals from all elements should be involved in this, provided they commit themselves to a free exchange of views in a spirit of inquiry.

"AMERICAN FORUM holds that eventual socialist unity requires clarity on fundamental social issues, along with tolerance of differences on other matters and comradely discussion of them within a common forum. It believes, therefore, that all important problems must be frankly and sharply discussed but equally that the discussion should be oriented to the future and not the past and concentrate on discussion of the program of a democratic socialist movement in the U.S. and how such a movement may be brought into being.

"Since it is of the greatest importance that large numbers of people, including youths, be drawn into discussion locally, from labor unions, farm organizations, colleges, churches, etc., AMERICAN FORUM will have as one of its aims the formation, encouragement and assistance of local groups or committees for this purpose. This may include assistance to local groups in setting up forums, etc., and going beyond mere occasional discussion meetings.

"Other purposes will be:

"1) To call attention to the various periodicals and publications of groups whose members are involved in the discussions and encourage people to read them; and to publish bulletins or pamphlets under its own imprint as occasion requires.

"2) To organize regional and national conferences, and by these and other means to contribute not only to intellectual clarification but to the building of a new morale and ethic, a spirit of fair play, labor militancy, determination and hope among the progressive and radical forces in this country."

The other members of the national committee are:

James Aronson, New York City; Joseph Atkins, Baltimore; Michael Baker, Minneapolis; Paul Baran, Palo Alto, Calif; Stringfellow Barr, New York City; Albert Blumberg, New York City; Carl Braden, Louisville; Derk Bodde, Philadelphia; Harald Charlmau, Chicago; Bert Cochran, New York City; Jack Cypin, Nassau County, N. Y.; Dorothy Day, New York City.

Dave Dellinger, Glen Gardner, N. J.; Farrell Dobbs, New York City; W. E. B. DuBois, New York City; J. Stuart Inuerst, Pasadena; Russell Johnson, Boston; Oliver Loud, Yellow Springs, Ohio; Conrad Lynn, Rockland County, N. Y.; C. H. Mayer, Andes, N. Y.; Clifford McAvoy, New York City; Benjamin McLaurin, New York City; David McReynolds, New York City.

William Neumann, Baltimore; Russell Nixon, New York City; Harvey O'Connor, Winnetka, Ill.,

Mr. NITTLE. I now hand you a photostatic copy of pages 3 and 4 of the *Daily Worker* of June 14, 1957, marked for identification as "Lynn Exhibit No. 4," where appears an article under the by-line of Lester Rodney entitled "Untrammeled Discussion Marks Opening of Socialist Forum."

Mr. NITTLE. You are reported as a civil rights attorney to address the forum. Did you participate in that opening meeting of the forum?

Mr. LYNN. Yes.

(Document marked "Lynn Exhibit No. 4" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Were you not aware, Mr. Lynn, that the 40-man National Committee of the American Forum For Socialist Education included the following identified Communists, namely: Albert Blumberg, legislative director of the Communist Party?

Mr. SHAPIRO. Do you want an answer after each name, or do you want to give it in sequence?

Mr. NITTLE. I think you can note them. I will give them in sequence. I think that would be better.

Doxey Wilkerson, a member of the Communist Party's National Committee at that time.

Joseph Starobin, former foreign editor of the *Daily Worker.*

Russell Nixon, former legislative director of the United Electrical Workers Union, a union expelled from the CIO as Communist-controlled some years ago. Mr. Nixon is presently general manager of the *National Guardian,* a publication to which we had frequent occasions

to refer, and a publication described by this committee as "a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."

Clifford McAvoy, former deputy welfare commissioner of New York City who resigned in 1941 after Communist charges were brought against him.

Carl Braden, copy editor for the Louisville, Kentucky, *Courier-Journal* whom, I believe, at one time you represented.

Mr. SHAPIRO. Would you repeat the question, please?

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know those individuals, at the time you were a National Committee member of the American Forum For Socialist Education, to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. LYNN. The Communist Party had official representatives in this American Forum For Socialist Education, and I knew them by that designation.

I didn't know them personally, because this was an organization just formed and they came there as representatives of the Communist Party. Not all those that you listed were representatives of the Communist Party; and those who were not representatives of the Communist Party, I could not identify as Communists nor do I know them to be Communists.

Mr. NITTLE. What persons did you know at the time to be Communists?

Mr. LYNN. Those who were official representatives of the Communist Party, Blumberg, Wilkerson, Starobin.

Mr. NITTLE. At that time were Russell Nixon, Clifford T. McAvoy, and Carl Braden on the National Committee, to your knowledge?

Mr. LYNN. I know Carl Braden was not, because I was his attorney at one time and I am sure he was not a member of the Communist Party, nor do I think he ever became a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. Then do you mean to say that the *Daily Worker* account is inaccurate?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. LYNN. Are you asking me are they on this committee?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, I am sorry you misunderstood the question.

Mr. LYNN. I am sure whatever that list was in the *Daily Worker* was the list of the people at that Forum.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Lynn, have you also been a member of the National Executive Committee of an organization known as the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, which maintains offices in New York?

Mr. LYNN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. You are presently serving as a member of the National Executive Committee of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, are you not?

Mr. LYNN. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. How long have you been a member of the National Executive Committee of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee?

Mr. LYNN. I suppose about 2 years.

Mr. NITTLE. A letterhead of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee dated December 28, 1959, which has been reproduced in a publication of this committee contains your name as of that date being a member of the National Executive Committee of that organization.

Mr. LYNN. 1959?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Mr. LYNN. I think I was on the National Council then. The Executive Board is a smaller committee from the National Council. I think in 1959 I was a member of the National Council.

Mr. NITTLE. Was that the title given to the Executive Committee?

Mr. LYNN. No. In addition to the National Council, there is an Executive Board.

Mr. NITTLE. How long have you been a member of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee otherwise than on the National Executive Committee or the Council?

Mr. LYNN. I am not sure how long I have been, but it has been for quite a number of years.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you a member after its formation?

Mr. LYNN. I don't think I was a charter member, but I have been a member for quite a number of years.

Mr. NITTLE. Could you tell us approximately the date when you assumed membership or association with that group?

Mr. LYNN. I don't have any independent recollection. If I knew the date that it began then I would be able to form some idea when I became a member.

Mr. NITTLE. A report of this committee stated:

> The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is an organization with headquarters in New York. * * * The committee finds that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, established in 1951, although representing itself as a non-Communist group, actually operates as a front for the Communist Party.

Were you a member of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee in 1951?

Mr. LYNN. I am not certain, but I might very well have become a member shortly thereafter.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a copy of the *Daily Worker* of Tuesday, October 2, 1956, marked for identification as "Lynn Exhibit No. 5."

Page 2 reports your speaking at a rally in Hunt's Point Palace under the auspices of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and describes you as one of the attorneys for Carl Braden. Did you speak at Hunt's Point Palace on that occasion under the auspices of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee?

Mr. LYNN. I very well likely did.

(Document marked "Lynn Exhibit No. 5" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Both Carl Braden and his wife Anne Braden have been identified as members of the Communist Party. Did you know them as such?

Mr. LYNN. I did not know them as such and I do not know them today and I do not believe such a characterization.

Mr. WILLIS. I remember you said that a while ago.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you familiar with the testimony received in the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee with respect to the identifications of Carl Braden and his wife as members of the Communist Party?

Mr. LYNN. I am not familiar with that testimony.

Mr. NITTLE. I suggest you read it. Although you have represented Carl Braden and Anne Braden, his wife, for some time, you have not ad your attention directed——

Mr. WILLIS. He did not say that. He said he did not believe it.

Mr. NITTLE. —to these facts?

Mr. LYNN. I represented them in 1954 and 1955 in Louisville, Kentucky, on a case of housing segregation.

Mr. NITTLE. We are not interested in the facts of that case.

Mr. LYNN. That is how I know them. I know you are not interested, but that is how I became interested.

Mr. NITTLE. The public record demonstrates what the facts are.

Mr. WILLIS. We do not need any argument about that. He has expressed himself.

Mr. SHAPIRO. May we have a direction of counsel not to badger the witness on a question he has already answered.

Mr. WILLIS. Frankly they have been going on fine. Go on.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a copy of page 7 of the *National Guardian*.

Mr. LYNN. What date is that?

Mr. NITTLE. Dated September 11, 1961, marked for identification as "Lynn Exhibit No. 6," which announces a public meeting in honor of the 70th birthday of Dr. Pedro Albizu Campos, the imprisoned president of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico. You are listed as one of the speakers that called for his release.

Did you address that meeting?

Mr. LYNN. I certainly did.

(Document marked "Lynn Exhibit No. 6" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I might note here that the attempted assassination of President Truman in November 1950 at Blair House, resulting in the death of Leslie Coffelt of the White House Police, was conducted by members of the Nationalist Party, of which Campos was the founder and leader.

I would also like to note that in 1943 William Z. Foster, chairman of the American Communist Party, sent his greetings to Dr. Pedro Albizu Campos saying:

The meeting of the National Committee of the American Communist Party extends its heartfelt fraternal greetings to Brother Campos and wishes him an early recovery from his illness.

Mr. Lynn, I now hand you a copy of pages 1 and 2 of the *National Guardian* for November 20, 1961, marked for identification as "Lynn Exhibit No. 7," in which there appears under the heading, "Report to Readers: The man who never came to dinner," an account describing a banquet celebrating the occasion of the 13th anniversary of the *National Guardian's* publication.

You are described as a guest of honor at this dinner. Other guests of honor included Laura Albizu Campos, wife of the imprisoned Dr. Campos to whom I just referred, and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, national chairman of the Communist Party. Were you a guest of honor at that dinner?

Mr. LYNN. I was.

(Document marked "Lynn Exhibit No. 7" and retained in Committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. You are aware, are you not, Mr. Lynn—and I mentioned this a short while ago—that the *National Guardian* has been found by this committee to be, "a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia"?

Mr. LYNN. I know that may be the opinion of the committee, but it is not my opinion.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you not aware that Cedric Belfrage, described on the masthead of that publication as its "Editor-in-exile" and who is presently its Havana correspondent, has been identified by Elizabeth Bentley as a member of the Communist Party and a Soviet espionage agent?

Mr. LYNN. I don't know about that, but I don't know how relevant that is to this committee's inquiry today.

Mr. SHAPIRO. Could we have a rule on the pertinency of this whole line because it is just about as far out in left field as it can be.

Mr. WILLIS. I doubt we can go along that line very long.

Mr. NITTLE. May I make a statement for the record, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. These questions are posed to you, Mr. Lynn, because the record indicates that you seem to have been a long-time Communist propagandist. This course of inquiry into your past and similar conduct, the committee believes, will assist the Congress in appraising your present activities in relation to your travel to Cuba.

These and the following questions I will ask are asked in accordance with a principle of the law of evidence, which you as an attorney well know, to the effect that past conduct of a nature similar to that under present inquiry is relevant to show knowledge, disposition, and purpose of the witness.

Now, further pursuing the matter of your association with the *National Guardian*, are you not aware that Russell Nixon, its general manager, and who served as a member of the National Committee of the American Socialist Forum [American Forum For Socialist Education] with you, has been several times identified as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SHAPIRO. Anybody can ask the pertinency in a hearing room.

Mr. WILLIS. He asked the question, did he not?

Mr. LYNN. No, I don't.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you not aware that James Aronson, who is the editor of the *National Guardian*, appeared before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1956 and invoked the fifth amendment to inquiries whether he was a member of the Communist Party and whether he accepted directives from the Publications Commission of the Communist Party?

Mr. LYNN. I am aware that as a lawyer because a person takes the fifth amendment does not mean he is pleading guilty to the accusation.

Mr. SHAPIRO. Mr. Chairman, to avoid this kind of thing, I would please suggest that we have a ruling on the pertinency of this line because it is clearly not.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Nittle, are you about through?

Mr. NITTLE. I am through with the *National Guardian*, yes, sir.

Now, Mr. Lynn, I hand you a copy of page 3 of the *National Guardian* of January 10, 1963, marked for identification as "Lynn Exhibit No. 8" and direct your attention to an article appearing thereon entitled, "Kennedy award protested."

The article states that you, Conrad J. Lynn, a civil rights attorney, and others have joined in a statement of protest, calling for nationwide demonstrations by "liberty-loving Americans" to protest an

award made to President Kennedy by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and calling upon it to withdraw its award to the President unless the Department of Justice withdraws its case against William Worthy, who has been convicted of passport violation resulting from a recent trip to Cuba without a validated passport.

Did you sign such a statement of protest?

Mr. LYNN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I offer Exhibit No. 8 for the record.

Mr. WILLIS. Let it be incorporated in the record.

(Document marked "Lynn Exhibit No. 8" follows.)

LYNN EXHIBIT NO. 8

WILLIAM WORTHY CASE CITED

Kennedy award protested

A CALL FOR nation-wide demonstrations this month by "liberty-loving Americans, colored and white, Jewish and Christian" to protest a "democratic legacy" award to President Kennedy was issued in New York Jan. 5 by a group of prominent citizens. The protest stems from the William Worthy "illegal re-entry" case.

Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel laureaute in chemistry, and author James Baldwin are among signers of a statement urging the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith to withdraw its award from the President "unless the Department of Justice drops the scandalous harassment of Mr. Worthy." Worthy, U.S.-born correspondent for the Baltimore Afro-American, was convicted of re-entering the U.S. without a passport after a trip to Havana. He is appealing a three-month sentence.

The Anti-Defamation League plans to confer the award on Kennedy at a banquet Jan. 31 at the Sheraton-Park Hotel in Washington. The protest group called for a demonstration outside the hotel at 5:30 p.m. Jan. 31, and simultaneous demonstrations Jan. 15 outside ADL and B'nai B'rith offices across the country. In New York, the Harlem Anti-Colonial Committee will demonstrate outside the ADL office at 515 Madison Ave. between noon and 2 p.m. Jan. 15.

The statement of protest declared, "The Worthy case has become a classic in man's endless struggle to write freely, to speak freely, to travel freely and to know the truth about the world around him."

Signers included Ossie Davis, actor; Ruby Dee, actress; Dorothy Day, editor of the Catholic Worker; David Dellinger, editor of Liberation magazine; Lorraine Hansberry, playwright; Conrad J. Lynn, civil rights attorney, and Mrs. Pauling.

Mr. NITTLE. The staff has one final question.

Mr. Lynn, on the basis of these exhibits which document your affiliation with, or support of, such known Communist enterprises as the *National Guardian*, Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, and the American Forum For Socialist Education, would it not be reasonable to conclude that, although now you are no longer a member of the Communist Party by reason of your expulsion therefrom in 1937, you knowingly and willingly support party projects?

Mr. LYNN. I object to the characterization of these organizations such as American Forum For Socialist Education as Communist projects. That was not a Communist project. I am perfectly willing to go into that in exhaustive detail. That was a project of people on the left—and I definitely am on the left—to see if in the process of discussion we could develop a program to find a new way for America.

I don't happen to be satisfied with the Government that permits the brutalization of those Negroes in Birmingham.

Mr. WILLIS. Have you finished?

Mr. NITTLE. The staff, Mr. Chairman, has concluded its interrogation.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Lynn, you were asked about certain people whom you might have seen or not seen during your visit to Cuba. Counsel asked you about certain of them.

As I recall, you said you remember meeting a Mrs. Johnson of Monroe, a Gerald Quinn, and Robert Williams. But let me ask you this question:

Having said, I think, that you saw many others, could you name others that you saw outside of that list?

Mr. LYNN. No. I met people there, and my memory for names is not too good. After I meet one person for one time, it is highly unlikely that I would remember him a year or more later.

Mr. WILLIS. So your answer is that you do not recall seeing others?

Mr. LYNN. That is right.

Mr. WILLIS. The witness is excused.

The committee will stand in recess until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

The chairman might state that demonstrations are not in order and will not be tolerated tomorrow.

(Members present at time of recess: Representatives Willis, Tuck, Johansen, Bruce, Schadeberg, and Ashbrook.)

(Whereupon, at 5:10 p.m. Monday, May 6, 1963, the committee recessed to reconvene at 10 a.m. Tuesday, May 7, 1963.)

VIOLATIONS OF STATE DEPARTMENT REGULATIONS AND PRO-CASTRO PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

Part 1

TUESDAY, MAY 7, 1963

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 10 a.m. in the Caucus Room, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Honorable Edwin E. Willis (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Subcommittee members: Representatives Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana; William M. Tuck, of Virginia; and August E. Johansen, of Michigan.

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Willis, Tuck, and Johansen.

Committee members also present: Representatives Joe R. Pool, of Texas; Henry C. Schadeberg, of Wisconsin; and John M. Ashbrook, of Ohio. (Appearances as noted.)

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; Alfred M. Nittle, counsel; and Louis J. Russell, investigator.

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will please come to order.

The counsel will call the first witness.

Mr. NITTLE. Would Leo Huberman please come forward.

Mr. WILLIS. Please raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF LEO HUBERMAN, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, EPHRAIM LONDON

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state your full name and residence for the record?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Leo Huberman, 66 Barrow Street, New York.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes, I am.

Mr. NITTLE. Would counsel please identify himself for the record, stating his name and office address?

Mr. LONDON. Ephraim London, 1 East 44th Street, New York City.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Huberman, you recently appeared before the committee—in fact, on November 15, 1962—for questioning in some detail regarding another organization entitled "Friends of British Guiana," of which you appeared to be the provisional chairman, according to advertisements appearing in your own publication.

That organization was admittedly raising funds for printing equipment in support of the People's Progressive Party of British Guiana, a party led by Cheddi Jagan, the Communist Premier of British Guiana in South America.

The hearings on that subject were likewise in connection with the committee's investigation of propaganda activities of members and affiliates of the Communist Party with the legislative purpose of considering the advisability of amendments to the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

We do not propose to interrogate you upon the background information or the circumstances surrounding your activities in that organization. The hearings today are principally directed toward travel to Cuba in violation of the travel control laws, and Communist propaganda activities in connection therewith. In the course of our interrogation of you, I called your attention to an item appearing in the May 22, 1961, issue of the *National Guardian*, then marked as del Villar Exhibit No. 4–A which appears at page 1875 of the printed record.

I hand you a photostatic copy of that issue of the *National Guardian*, now marked for identification as "Huberman Exhibit No. 1."

I call your attention to the notice which appears as follows:

> Monthly Review Associates invites you to hear The Truth About Cuba, An Eyewitness Report by Leo Huberman, who was on the scene when the invasion occurred. Guest Artist Melitta del Villar, Chairman, Carey McWilliams, Monday, May 22, 8:30 p.m., Grand Ballroom—Hotel New Yorker, 34th St. & 8th Ave. $1 in advance; $1.50 at the door. Send for tickets to Monthly Review Associates, 333 Sixth Ave., NYC 14, CH 2–8403.

Are you not the Leo Huberman named in that notice who is to be heard on "The Truth About Cuba" and who would render an eyewitness report on Monday, May 22, 1961, at the Hotel New Yorker?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I am.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I offer Exhibit 1 for the record, to be retained in the committee's files.

Mr. WILLIS. Let it be incorporated in the record.

(Document marked "Huberman Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. The advertisement indicates that the invitation to the public to hear this report is made by the Monthly Review Associates. I believe you previously testified that the Monthly Review Associates is a corporation of which you, Paul M. Sweezy, and Sybil H. May are the sole stockholders and owners.

Mr. HUBERMAN. The Monthly Review, Incorporated; that is right.

Mr. NITTLE. The Monthly Review Associates is the publisher of *Monthly Review*, a magazine of which you and Paul Sweezy are co-editors?

Mr. HUBERMAN. No. Monthly Review, Incorporated, is the publisher. Monthly Review Associates is one of the parts or one of the affiliates.

Mr. NITTLE. By whom is that run?

Mr. HUBERMAN. It is run by us.

Mr. NITTLE. The same persons. The notice states that you were on the scene during the Cuban invasion. It is a matter of public knowledge that the Cuban invasion, also known as the Bay of Pigs invasion, occurred on April 17, 1961, did it not?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes. It really began on April 15th.

Mr. NITTLE. 1961.

Mr. HUBERMAN. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you in Cuba at that time?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes, I was.

Mr. NITTLE. In the hearings on the Friends of British Guiana, you testified, as appears at page 2008 of the printed record, that you were in Cuba in April 1961 and that you were en route to a lecture engagement in Jamaica and, on the way to Jamaica, you stopped off in Cuba for the purpose of seeing again the Cuban scene and reporting on it.

When you referred to Jamaica, you were referring to the island in the British West Indies, I believe——

Mr. HUBERMAN. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE.—which is immediately to the south of Cuba——

Mr. HUBERMAN. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE.—and to the west of Haiti?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. At what date did you depart from the United States on your way to Jamaica?

Mr. HUBERMAN. On April 14. I arrived in Cuba on April 14, the Friday before the invasion began.

Mr. NITTLE. How long did you remain in Cuba?

Mr. HUBERMAN. About 10 days.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you then in possession of a passport endorsed for travel to Cuba?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes, I was.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you make application to the State Department for validation of your passport for travel to Cuba?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes, I did.

Mr. NITTLE. When did you make application for the passport validation for travel to Cuba?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Sometime in February or March. I have forgotten which.

Mr. NITTLE. Of 1961?

Mr. HUBERMAN. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. Where did you make that application—to the New York office of the Department of State or directly in Washington?

Mr. HUBERMAN. It may have been to Washington. I have forgotten.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you address a letter of application, or did you make the application in person?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I wrote a letter.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you have your passport in your possession?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I have a photostat of the validation.

Mr. NITTLE. May we see that?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Surely.

(Document handed to Mr. Nittle.)

Mr. NITTLE. By what means did you travel to Cuba?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I think it was Pan Am.

Mr. NITTLE. In your application for a passport on that occasion did you state in the application the purpose of it?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes, I did.

Mr. NITTLE. What did you state was the purpose?

Mr. HUBERMAN. That I was, as I recall it, a journalist and, therefore, wanted to go to see what was happening.

Mr. NITTLE. What countries did you state you were intending to visit?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Cuba and Jamaica, probably. I had the passport. What I was writing for was the validation that was then necessary. So I assumed that I said Cuba and Jamaica, although I may just have said Cuba. I don't remember. I didn't need it for Jamaica. I was asking for Cuba.

Mr. NITTLE. That is very true, you did not need a validated passport unless you were passing through Cuba or a country or area for which a passport was required.

Mr. HUBERMAN. I was writing for validation that was necessary for Cuba. I received it.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you visit any other areas besides Cuba and Jamaica?

Mr. HUBERMAN. No, I did not. I did not go to Jamaica in the final event.

Mr. NITTLE. You did no go to Jamaica?

Mr. HUBERMAN. No, I couldn't. Planes were not going from Cuba.

Mr. NITTLE. You stated you were going to Jamaica to deliver a lecture engagement?

Mr. HUBERMAN. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. By whom were you invited to make it?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Some club of which I think the Prime Minister was a member.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you remember the name of the club or what type of club it was, whether social or political?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Political discussion group, and I was told in one of the letters that the Prime Minister was a member of this club.

Mr. NITTLE. But you were not invited by the Prime Minister?

Mr. HUBERMAN. No.

Mr. NITTLE. You were merely informed that he was a member of it?

Mr. HUBERMAN. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you recollect who invited you to attend or to deliver a lecture in Jamaica?

Mr. HUBERMAN. No, I don't.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you recollect the name of the club at which you were to speak?

Mr. HUBERMAN. No, I don't.

Mr. NITTLE. While you were in Cuba, did you have occasion to meet other Americans who were there?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes, I met some Americans, but I didn't go down to meet Americans. I went down to look at Cuba. But I did meet some. We were there three times.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell the committee who were the Americans you met in Cuba at that time?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I met—I went down with Mr. Sweezy, so I met him. On one occasion we met Theodore Draper. I met Joe Morray.

Mr. NITTLE. That is Joseph Parker Morray?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes. And I met Joe North. Then I was on occasion introduced to some Americans, but I didn't know them or didn't see them again.

Mr. NITTLE. And these are the only Americans whose names you now recollect?

Mr. HUBERMAN. That is right.

(At this point Mr. Tuck entered the hearing room.)

Mr. NITTLE. While you were in Cuba, did you have occasion to discuss with Joseph Parker Morray the publication of a book entitled *The Second Revolution in Cuba?*

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a copy of page 11 of the *National Guardian* dated November 29, 1962, marked for identification as "Huberman Exhibit No. 2." It is on the left-hand column of the page.

Mr. HUBERMAN. I don't see it.

Mr. NITTLE. You will note there appears upon the page—I had said to the left; I meant to say to the right, I am sorry—an item entitled "Date of publication for Cuba looks advanced," which reads as follows:

> Because of the critical situation in respect to Cuba, Monthly Review Press is advancing publication date of two books on Cuba it had scheduled for publication early in 1963.
>
> J. P. Morray, Guardian correspondent, recently returned after almost two years in Havana, where he taught at the university, is the author of one book, The Second Revolution in Cuba. The other book, The United States, Cuba and Castro, is by William Appleman Williams of the history department at the University of Wisconsin.
>
> Both books will be off the press early in December. Orders are being taken at the prepublication price of $2.25 (a saving of $1 per book)—or both books for $4. Orders should be sent to Monthly Review Press, 333 Sixth Ave., New York 14, N.Y.

(At this point Mr. Ashbrook entered the hearing room.)

Mr. NITTLE. The Monthly Review Press, of which you are the co-owner, is the publisher of Morray's book *The Second Revolution In Cuba?*

Mr. HUBERMAN. That is right.

(Document marked "Huberman Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. When you were referring in that advertisement to the "critical situation in respect to Cuba," to what did you refer particularly?

Mr. HUBERMAN. To the recent crisis in October.

Mr. NITTLE. This announcement, which you published about the book, followed the October 1962 missile crisis——

Mr. HUBERMAN. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. —in which the United States, the Soviet Union, and Cuba were involved; did it not?

Mr. HUBERMAN. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. The announcement was published in November 1962, one month, approximately, after the missile crisis.

Mr. Huberman, were you not opposed to the unseating of the Communist Cuban regime despite the maintenance there of nuclear missile bases at the time you made this publication?

Mr. LONDON. I didn't understand that question.

Mr. NITTLE. In referring to the critical situation with respect to Cuba and the publication of *The Second Revolution In Cuba*, the speeding up of publication, was it not for the purpose of engaging in propaganda in opposition to the unseating of the Communist regime in Cuba despite the maintenance there of Cuban missile bases?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. Would you repeat the part of the question at the end, please?

Mr. NITTLE. Perhaps the reporter should read it.

(Question was read by reporter.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. We had the manuscript of the Morray book in July.

Mr. NITTLE. Soviet bases, that should be.

Mr. HUBERMAN. We got it out as fast as we could because it was a timely copy. When you talk about propaganda, I am not a propagandist for Cuba or any government or any party or any organization. I am a propagandist for what I believe to be the truth.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Huberman, in your appearance before the committee, you testified that you were "a Marxist and a Socialist." Your testimony which I quote, appearing at page 2006 of the printed record, was in this language:

> Yes; I am a Marxist and a Socialist, and like millions of other non-Communists throughout the world, I believe in working, together with others, including Communists, to the extent that their aims and methods coincide with mine.

That was your testimony, was it not?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. The Monthly Review Associates has not only published such volumes as that of J. P. Morray on the subject of Cuba, but your publication, the *Monthly Review*, which is described on its cover page as "An Independent Socialist Magazine," has also published numerous articles on the subject of Cuba; has it not?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes, it has.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, I hand you a list of some of these articles which have appeared in the *Monthly Review* on the subject of Cuba from the years 1960 to February 1963. I ask you to examine the list, and as you do so, I shall read Exhibit No. 3 into the record.

Articles relative to Cuba appearing in the *Monthly Review* from 1960 to February 1963:

"Why Cubans Resent the U.S.," by Manuel Pedro Gonzales, page 18, May 1960.
"Cuba—Anatomy of a Revolution," by Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy (Special 192-page issue) July-August 1960.
"A Real Democracy," by Fidel Castro, page 305, September 1960.
"Women of The New Cuba," by Nancy Reeves, November 1960.
"Cuba Revisited," by Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy, page 401, December 1960.
"Reflections on the Cuban Revolution," by Paul A. Baran, page 459, January 1961.
"Reflections on the Cuban Revolution, II," by Paul A. Baran, page 518, February 1961.
"The Truth About Cuba," by Leo Huberman, page 60, June 1961.
"Cuba and Communism," by J. P. Morray, (Special 96-page issue) July-August 1961.
"Cuba and the U.S.," by Che Guevara, page 222, September 1961.
"Two Reports from Cuba," by Special Correspondents, page 406, January 1962.

"A Letter From Cuba," Anonymous, page 511, March 1962.
"Cuba and Punta Del Este," from *The Empire Star*, page 587, April 1962.
"Review of the Month: Another Cuban Crisis," by Editors, page 289, October 1962.
"Review of the Month: The Cuban Crisis in Perspective," by Editors, page 401, December 1962.
"Cuba's Mission: Letter From Cuba," Anonymous, page 549, February 1963.

Would you advise us whether your magazine, the *Monthly Review*, has published those items?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I think at least these. Maybe some more that you haven't here.

(Document marked "Huberman Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Yes. I note particularly that in the September 1960 issue of the *Monthly Review* you published an article entitled "A Real Democracy" by Fidel Castro. Did you at any time make personal arrangements with Fidel Castro for the publication of this article?

Mr. HUBERMAN. We didn't make any personal arrangements with Fidel Castro for the publication of that article, but we did, when we saw him in Cuba, discuss the publication of some of his speeches. That, we picked up out of one of his speeches and that was an excerpt, as I recall it.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you seek this conference with Fidel Castro, or did he seek it with you?

Mr. HUBERMAN. We sought it with him.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you recollect who made these arrangements for the conference with Fidel Castro?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes. Some of the Cuban friends that we had there. When we came to Cuba we wanted to see Fidel Castro.

Mr. NITTLE. Did J. P. Morray participate in making the arrangements with Fidel Castro for you?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I think we saw Fidel Castro before Morray arrived in Cuba.

Mr. NITTLE. You had visited Cuba in the year 1960, had you not?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Twice.

Mr. NITTLE. Your December 1960 issue of the *Monthly Review* contained an article entitled "Cuba Revisited," by Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy. Did you on that occasion confer with Fidel Castro?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I think that was the occasion that we conferred with him.

Mr. NITTLE. The *Monthly Review* of September 1961, which is a date subsequent to the break in diplomatic relations between the United States and Cuba, contains an article entitled "Cuba and the U.S.," written by Che Guevara, also a well-known, top Communist leader in Cuba. Did you make personal contact with him for the preparation and dissemination of that article?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes. We interviewed Che Guevara and I, at that time—you say that was 1961?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Mr. HUBERMAN. That was after the invasion. I was not able to see him during the invasion so I submitted a list of questions to him.

Mr. NITTLE. This is subsequent to the invasion—September 1961?

Mr. HUBERMAN. That is right. When I was there I was not able to see him, so I submitted a list of questions. I think that is a question-and-answer article, as I recall it. Do you have it there with you?

Mr. NITTLE. I don't have it immediately before me.

Mr. HUBERMAN. All right.

Mr. WILLIS. You said a while ago that "We saw him," or "discussed it with him." Who would that be?

Mr HUBERMAN. My colleague, Paul Sweezy, coeditor of the magazine.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you have occasion to meet Che Guevara prior to April 1961?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes, we did.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us when and where?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I think we saw Che Guevara both times we were there prior to April 1961. We had interviews with him.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you met Che Guevara at any place outside of Cuba?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Never.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you met Fidel Castro at any place outside of Cuba?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Never.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, among other articles that were published in the *Monthly Review* was an article entitled "Two Reports From Cuba," by "Special Correspondents," which appeared in your January 1962 issue. Who were the special and anonymous correspondents?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Well, as an editor, I would not want to divulge the names of anonymous people. No newspaper would.

Mr. NITTLE. Let me put it this way——

Mr. HUBERMAN. Without their consent.

Mr. NITTLE. Let me put it this way: Were they American citizens?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I don't recall in that particular case. We have had some letters, some of these were letters, and I don't recall in that particular case.

Mr. NITTLE. Was there some special reason why this was an anonymous communication rather than a frank and open avowal of the man's thinking?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes. The reason was that these came to us as letters. We didn't have time to get in touch with the people, didn't know whether they would want to sign them, so we just ran them anonymously.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you mean to say you did not know who they were?

Mr. HUBERMAN. No, I don't say that. I say they came to us as letters.

Mr. NITTLE. Unsigned?

Mr. HUBERMAN. No, signed. They were signed letters, but we had no time to write to the people to ask them if we could run them as articles. We assumed that they wouldn't mind. So we ran them without their names for that reason.

Mr. NITTLE. You did not know who they were?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I am not saying that. I did know who they were.

Mr. NITTLE. Had you ever received other correspondence from these people?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I may have.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know them before the receipt of this letter?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes, of course. Of course.

Mr. JOHANSEN. By knowing them you mean that you not only knew the identity of the writers because they signed them, but you knew the individuals?

Mr. HUBERMAN. That is right. They were friends.

Mr. NITTLE. Do not the exhibits indicate that the *Monthly Review* has become and is, in fact, a public relations organ for the Castro regime in Cuba?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. As I said before, they indicate no such thing. What they indicate is that we are interested in the subject of Cuba, as any serious student of politics is. They indicate that we applaud the achievements of the Cuban revolution. They indicate that we think that Cuba, like other underdeveloped countries in Latin America, faced a problem of unemployment, hunger, illiteracy, disease, and that the Cubans found a way to end that. We hope that will be true of the other Latin American countries.

We think that the Cubans have made tremendous steps in solving those terribly important problems. They indicate what we think about the Cuban revolution.

Mr. NITTLE. When you say——

Mr. HUBERMAN. I might say that I had similar views about the necessity for revolution in the underdeveloped countries when Castro was maybe 10 years old.

Mr. NITTLE. Is it your hope, when you refer to the fact that others may find this solution, that this solution be obtained through Communist-led rebellions?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I never said that. You said that.

Mr. NITTLE. I am asking you whether that is your hope? You expressed the thought rather vaguely.

Mr. HUBERMAN. My hope is that the other Latin American peoples will solve their problem. I think they can solve it only through revolution similar to the type led by Castro.

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Huberman, here is the May 1961 issue of *Mainstream*, the cultural publication of the Communist Party, which describes the book *Anatomy of a Revolution*, as "Indispensable," and the August 13, 1960, issue of the *People's World*, the Communist Party's West Coast publication, advising that one would do well to read this book to better understand the headlines about Cuba.

Is it not a fact that your 192-page *Anatomy of a Revolution*, published as a special issue of the *Monthly Review*, has been highly praised in the Communist press?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I think probably that is true, although they have been critical of some parts of it. It has also been praised, I might say, in learned journals a thousand miles from communism.

Mr. NITTLE. During your visit to Cuba, did you confer with Cedric Belfrage?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes, I did.

Mr. NITTLE. Cedric Belfrage, as you well know at least now, has been described by Elizabeth Bentley as a Soviet espionage agent and a member of the Communist Party. He is presently the Havana correspondent of the *National Guardian*. J. P. Morray, whom you

described as the author of the book you published, *The Second Revolution in Cuba*, is a correspondent for the *National Guardian*.

Do you know Cedric Belfrage to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HUBERMAN. No, I do not, nor would I accept the testimony of so unreliable a reporter as Elizabeth Bentley.

Mr. NITTLE. Were your visits to Cuba in whole or in part financed by the Cuban Government?

Mr. HUBERMAN. The visits to Cuba were paid for by ourselves.

Mr. NITTLE. Did the Cuban Government provide any accommodations for you or render any free services?

Mr. HUBERMAN. On two of the occasions they did.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you describe those?

Mr. HUBERMAN. On two occasions they paid our hotel bill and travel throughout the island. They provided travel, as is customary frequently for journalists.

Mr. NITTLE. Had you made these arrangements with the Cuban Government prior to your visit there?

Mr. HUBERMAN. No, we had not.

Mr. NITTLE. Had you contacted the Cuban Embassy in Mexico or elsewhere?

Mr. HUBERMAN. No, we did not.

Mr. NITTLE. With respect to the validation of your 1960 passport for travel to Cuba, was that validation obtained from the New York office——

Mr. HUBERMAN. I don't remember.

Mr. NITTLE.—of the Passport Division, or from Washington?

Mr. WILLIS. You asked him that, and he said he didn't remember.

Mr. HUBERMAN. The validation or the passport itself? I don't remember in either case. I went to the New York office at one point because that is where you go in New York.

Mr. NITTLE. You did visit in the New York office?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I think that is where I went. Rockefeller Center.

Mr. NITTLE. No further questions.

Mr. WILLIS. The witness is excused.

First, let me ask a question.

You haven't returned to Cuba since your trip of 1960?

Mr. HUBERMAN. No, I was there during the invasion in 1961.

Mr. WILLIS. I mean since 1961; I am sorry.

Mr. HUBERMAN. No.

(At this point Mr. Pool entered the hearing room.)

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Tuck and Mr. Johansen and I are scheduled to appear before the Rules Committee at 11 o'clock in connection with a bill reported out by this committee. It is hard to tell how long we are going to be, so suppose I make this suggestion: that we will tentatively stand in recess until 11:30 and if by that time we still have not completed our testimony, I will give you a ring and you can announce to the audience about when I will return. I will try to be as accommodating as possible.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. WILLIS. Governor Tuck has made the suggestion that we not take that chance, so we may as well adjourn until after lunch. We will adjourn until 1:30.

Members present at time of recess: Representatives Willis, Tuck, and Johansen of the subcommittee, and also Pool and Ashbrook.)

(Whereupon, at 10:45 a.m., Tuesday, May 7, 1963, the hearings recessed to reconvene at 1:30 p.m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION—TUESDAY, MAY 7, 1963

(The subcommittee reconvened at 1:30 p.m., Honorable Edwin E. Willis, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.)

(Members present: Representatives Willis, Tuck, and Johansen of the subcommittee, and also Schadeberg.)

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will please come to order.

Please call your next witness.

Mr. NITTLE. Will Edward Walter Shaw please come forward?

Mr. WILLIS. Will you raise your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SHAW. I do.

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD WALTER SHAW, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, HERSHEL SHANKS

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Shaw, will you state your full name and residence for the record, please?

Mr. SHAW. My name is Edward Walter Shaw. I reside at R.D. No. 1, Box 347, Washington, New Jersey.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. SHAW. Yes, I am.

Mr. NITTLE. Would counsel kindly identify himself for the record, stating his name and office address?

Mr. SHANKS. My name is Hershel Shanks, American Civil Liberties Union volunteer attorney. My office address is 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, NW., Washington, D.C.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Shanks, are you representing the American Civil Liberties Union or are you representing the witness, Edward Walter Shaw?

Mr. SHANKS. I am representing the witness through the American Civil Liberties Union.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Shaw, are you also known as Ed Shaw and Edwin Shaw?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHAW. I am known as Ed Shaw to my friends, but I have never been known as Edwin Shaw to anybody that I knew of, except perhaps someone makes a misprint or typographical error in writing out my name.

Mr. NITTLE. You have not yourself ever used any other name?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHAW. Could I understand or would you explain the pertinency of this question to the matter under investigation?

Mr. NITTLE. For the purpose of identification. Therefore, I ask you, Mr. Shaw, have you been known by, or have you used, any name other than Edward Walter Shaw or Ed Shaw or Edwin Shaw?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHAW. I don't understand the pertinence of this question and I respectfully decline to answer this question and probably further questions on the following grounds, if I may be allowed to state them at this time:

First of all, the question, other questions, on the larger subject to which they relate, are not designed to elicit information——

Mr. NITTLE. Just a moment.

Mr. WILLIS. He is assigning grounds.

Mr. SHAW. May I proceed?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes.

Mr. SHAW. These questions, I feel are not designed to elicit information which will be used for any valid legislative purpose. They represent an attempt to humiliate me and to hold me up to public ridicule. This question is not a proper one. It attempts to try to convict me without any safeguards provided in courts of law which have been wisely provided by our Constitution.

Secondly, this committee's inquiry relates to personal matters. I have observed other witnesses about it. It will involve my political beliefs and questions of conscience. I believe this question and others violate the first amendment guarantees of freedom of speech, assembly, and conscience. I answer only to my conscience for those beliefs.

And finally, I decline to answer because any answer might open up avenues of questions to which my answers might at some future date be used in a legal proceeding against me. Under the fifth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, I cannot be compelled to give such testimony.

Mr. WILLIS. Of course, this question is just for purposes of identification and laying the foundation and, therefore, I feel compelled to order you to answer the question.

Mr. SHAW. May I say that I decline to answer on the grounds which I stated to your attorney?

Mr. WILLIS. All right.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you believe an answer to that inquiry may subject you to a criminal prosecution?

Mr. SHAW. It may.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Shaw, you have heard the chairman's opening statement, have you not?

Mr. SHAW. Yesterday.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state when and where you were born?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHAW. I was born in Lake County, Illinois, July 13, 1923.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you relate the extent of your formal education?

Mr. SHAW. Yes. I have 1 year of college, Illinois Institute of Chicago, in Chicago, Illinois.

Mr. NITTLE. In what year were you in attendance there?

Mr. SHAW. I believe 1940 or 1941, to the best of my recollection.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you have a high school education——

Mr. SHAW. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. — and if so, would you state the dates and places of attendance? If you do not recollect the dates of attendance, would you state the school from which you received your high school certificate?

Mr. SHAW. I received my high school diploma from Zion Benton Township in Benton Township, Illinois, Lake County.

Mr. NITTLE. What is your present occupation?

Mr. SHAW. I will have to refuse to answer that question on the grounds which I previously stated.

Mr. WILLIS. In the absence of any other thing before us, I don't see any connection that would justify your refusal. Therefore, I order you to answer that question.

Mr. SHAW. I respectfully decline to answer on the grounds which I stated earlier.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Shaw, I hand you a copy of a passport application dated March 9, 1961, which you submitted at Detroit, Michigan, marked for identification as "Shaw Exhibit No. 1."

In this application, you will note, you have stated your occupation as "stationary engineer."

Mr. WILLIS. As what?

Mr. NITTLE. Stationary engineer. Did you execute that application for a passport?

Mr. SHAW. I must refuse to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Does it not appear thereon that you represented to the Department of State of the United States that your occupation then was that of stationary engineer?

Mr. SHANKS. I think the exhibit speaks for itself and it does so indicate.

Mr. NITTLE. The question is addressed to the witness.

Mr. SHAW. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WILLIS. Is that a word of art? Stationary engineer? Do you know what that would be?

Mr. SHAW. I would presume it is an engineer who does not move.

Mr. WILLIS. What?

Mr. SHAW. I presume it is an engineer that doesn't move.

Mr. WILLIS. Is that your occupation?

Mr. SHAW. I was just trying to help you.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you believe that a response to a question as to what your occupation is might incriminate you?

Mr. SHAW. It may.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you presently employed by the Socialist Workers Party, a Trotskyist Communist group?

Mr. SHAW. In order to save the committee time, must I wait for the chairman to order me and repeat?

Mr. WILLIS. Let us proceed in the regular way.

Mr. SHAW. I must decline to answer that question.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman, just to clear up possibly a minor point, the witness, I note, says he must decline. The record should show that he is under no compulsion to decline.

Mr. SHAW. Only the compulsion of my own conscience.

Mr. JOHANSEN. The witness does decline.

Mr. SHAW. I feel I must because of the compulsion of my own conscience.

Mr. WILLIS. You do decline?

Mr. SHAW. I feel I have no alternative but to decline to answer.

Mr. JOHANSEN. We wanted to be sure that the source of this alleged compulsion——

Mr. SHAW. It resides within myself.

Mr. NITTLE. When you decline to respond to the question on the ground of conscience, do you include the fifth amendment privilege?

Mr. SHAW. I stated the reasons; yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. So that hereafter when you do decline to answer a question, it is to be understood that you decline for those reasons, including the fifth amendment?

Mr. SHAW. For all the reasons which I stated.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Including the fifth amendment?

Mr. SHAW. Including the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Then, Mr. Chairman, may I make a suggestion to the witness that if he refuses to respond on those grounds he may simply state that he declines to answer and it will be understood that he includes those grounds?

Mr. WILLIS. That is understood.

You understand the procedure, do you?

Mr. SHAW. Pardon?

Mr. WILLIS. You understand the procedure. Instead of repeating it all when you say that you decline to answer for the reasons previously indicated, it means just that.

Mr. SHAW. Yes. It will give you the opportunity to get all the questions you want into the record and speed the proceedings up.

Mr. WILLIS. All right.

Mr. JOHANSEN. It also gives the witness a clear understanding that this committee respects the constitutional rights guaranteed under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SHAW. Yes, I am aware of that.

Mr. NITTLE. In the application which has been submitted to you as Exhibit 1, it is stated that you intend to visit several Latin American countries, and you specify Venezuela and Chile.

Mr. Chairman, I ought to state for the record that while the United States does not require a passport for departure from the United States for travel to Venezuela and Chile, or a passport or travel card for return to the United States from those countries, we are informed by the State Department that a passport is required by Venezuela, for a sojourn beyond 30 days, and Chile for entrance into that country.

It may be a matter of interest also to note that certain other South American countries and other countries in Latin America similarly require a passport for entrance, including Brazil, Peru, Argentina, Bolivia, and Costa Rica. The Dominican Republic requires a passport for a sojourn beyond 30 days.

Now Mr. Shaw, also on your passport application of March 9, 1961, it is indicated that you give the approximate date of departure for those Latin American countries, which you have specified as June 1961, and the port of departure as Miami via air. You state that your proposed length of stay abroad would be 2 months.

Did you depart from the United States in June of 1961?

Mr. SHAW. I respectfully decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you depart from the United States at any time after March 9, 1961, from Miami by air?

Mr. SHAW. I respectfully decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. You stated in your application that the purpose of your trip was a vacation purpose. Was that your purpose?

Mr. SHAW. I respectfully decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. The records of the State Department indicate that on March 13, 1961, you were issued a passport. Was this passport validated for travel to Cuba?

Mr. SHAW. I respectfully decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you at any time after March 9, 1961, receive from the Department of State a passport or other record or document validating travel to Cuba?

Mr. SHAW. I respectfully decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. In your application for a passport, you did not mention Cuba. Was it your intention at the time you made application for this passport to travel to Cuba?

Mr. SHAW. I respectfully decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you visit Cuba?

Mr. SHAW. I respectfully decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you visit Cuba via Mexico City?

Mr. SHAW. I respectfully decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. The passport application contains a question relating to other persons to be included in your passport. It is noted that although you asked that your wife, Rita Shaw, be notified in case of death or accident, you do not note that you were accompanied by anyone. Were you accompanied by anyone in your travels after March 9, 1961?

Mr. SHAW. You mean back and forth to work?

Mr. NITTLE. No. Abroad.

Mr. SHAW. I respectfully decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a photostatic copy of the November 20, 1961, issue of the *National Guardian*, marked for identification as "Shaw Exhibit No. 2." I direct your attention to page 11 thereof, where under the hearing of "CALENDAR," the following appears:

Detroit, CUBA TODAY—Eyewitness Reports. Main Speaker, ED SHAW, just returned from Cuba. Illustrated with color slides. Don[ation] 50 c. Central Congregational Church, 7625 Linwood, (3 blks N. of Grand Blvd.) Mon., Nov. 27, 8 p.m., Ausp.: Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

You are the Ed Shaw described as the person just returned from Cuba in that exhibit, are you not?

Mr. SHAW. I respectfully decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you address the meeting advertised in that exhibit?

Mr. SHAW. I respectfully decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. I now hand you a photostatic copy of page 11 of the December 11, 1961, issue of the *National Guardian*. Under the column "CALENDAR" and heading "Chicago" the following appears:

REPORT ON CUBA. Hear: ED SHAW, Midwest rep. FPCC [Fair Play for Cuba Committee], give a report on latest developments in Cuba. Just returned from a 7-week tour of Cuba. Color slides will be shown. Fri., Dec. 8, 8 p.m., John Woolman Hall, 1174 E. 57th St. Ausp: S. Side FPCC. Cont. $1, students 50 c.

I assume the abbreviation "Cont." means "contribution." Is that correct?

Mr. SHAW. I don't know. It could be "continued."

Mr. NITTLE. Are you the Ed Shaw named in that exhibit?

Mr. SHAW. I respectfully decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WILLIS. Were you aware on that date or are you aware now that pursuant to the Immigration and Nationality Act of Congress of 1952, the Department of State issued regulations prohibiting travel to Cuba by any citizen of the United States, or any person owing allegiance to the United States, unless he had a passport validated by the Secretary of State for travel to Cuba?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHAW. I respectfully decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, may I offer for the record Exhibits 1, 2, and 2–A, to be retained in the committee's files.

Mr. WILLIS. Let them be incorporated in the record and marked as indicated.

(Documents marked "Shaw Exhibits Nos. 1, 2, and 2–A," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Shaw, are you not the Midwest representative of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Mr. SHAW. I respectfully decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you not then, at the time of the scheduled addresses set forth in Exhibits Nos. 2 and 2–A, the Midwest representative of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Mr. SHAW. I respectfully decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Is there any inaccuracy in the facts set forth in Exhibits Nos. 2 and 2–A?

Mr. SHAW. I respectfully decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you have a passport validated for travel to Cuba in your possession at any time?

Mr. SHAW. I respectfully decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Had you ever made an application for a passport validated for travel to Cuba after January 16, 1961?

Mr. SHAW. I respectfully decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Had you traveled to Cuba at any time after January 16, 1961?

Mr. SHAW. I respectfully decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Shaw, I will hand you a photostatic copy of page 6 of *The Worker* for January 9, 1962, marked for identification as "Shaw Exhibit No. 3."

Under the heading "What's On" the following appears:

CUBA IN COLOR TRANSPARENCIES—Ed Shaw, mid-west representative for the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, will show slides he took throughout Cuba last November. They chronicle Cuba's progress and construction. Monday, Jan. 15, 8:30 P.M., Adelphi Hall, 74 5th Ave. Contribution $11. Ausp.: FPCC.

Did you appear on that occasion?

Mr. SHAW. I decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Are the facts concerning your visit to Cuba related in that exhibit true?

Mr. SHAW. I decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that Exhibit 3 be received in the record, to be retained in the committee's files.

Mr. WILLIS. It will be incorporated in the record.

(Document marked "Shaw Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Shaw, I hand you a photostatic copy of *The Worker*, page 11, for Sunday, January 14, 1962, to be marked for identification as "Shaw Exhibit 4."

Under the column "What's On" you will see an advertisement identical to that contained in Exhibit No. 3.

That notice, Exhibit No. 4, is identical to that in Exhibit No. 3, is it not?

Mr. SHAW. My attorney advises me that they appear to be identical.

(Document marked "Shaw Exhibit No. 4" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Did these notices which have been called to your attention in Exhibits Nos. 3 and 4 appear in *The Worker* with your knowledge and approval?

Mr. SHAW. I decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you have knowledge whether this notice or one similar to it appeared in any publication other than a Communist publication?

Mr. SHAW. I decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Shaw, I hand you a photostatic copy of page 4 of *The Worker* for Sunday, March 12, 1961, marked for identification as "Shaw Exhibit No. 5," which contains an article headlined "Rally Urges Relations With Cuba."

It is stated therein that at a rally held in Chicago to restore diplomatic relations with Cuba:

Ed Shaw, midwest representative of the Fair Play to Cuba Committee, told the rally there are now 6,000 paid-up members of the organization with chapters in most of the large cities. There are also local chapters on 50 college and university campuses.

Are you not the Ed Shaw referred to in this account of *The Worker?*

Mr. SHAW. I decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Are the statements attributed to you correctly reported by *The Worker?*

Mr. SHAW. I decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I offer Exhibit No. 5 for the record, to be retained in the committee's files.

Mr. WILLIS. Let the exhibit be incorporated in the record.

(Document marked "Shaw Exhibit No. 5" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Are the facts, which you are alleged to have reported, known to you to be true with respect to the paid-up membership of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and the establishment of chapters on 50 college and university campuses?

Mr. SHAW. I decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Robert Williams, of whom we have already heard in the course of this hearing, and now a fugitive in Cuba, is also reported as addressing that rally to "Restore Diplomatic Relations with Cuba." Did he address that rally?

Mr. SHAW. I decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Shaw, I hand you a copy of the Kansas City, Missouri, *Kansas City Times* for January 24, 1962, marked for identification as "Shaw Exhibit No. 6."

There is a story there to the effect that you had appeared at the University of Kansas as a spokesman for the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Would you advise the committee whether you did appear——

Mr. SHAW. I decline to answer——

Mr. NITTLE. —on the campus of the University of Kansas as a spokesman for the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Mr. SHAW. I decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us who made the arrangements for your appearance there?

Mr. SHAW. I decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that Exhibit No. 6 be received in evidence, to be retained in the committee's files.

Mr. WILLIS. The exhibit will be received and marked as an exhibit.

(Document marked "Shaw Exhibit No. 6" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. I had previously asked you whether you were on the payroll of the Socialist Workers Party. I would like to ask you now whether you are a member or an official of the Socialist Workers Party?

Mr. SHAW. I decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party of the United States, which claims to have the orthodox Communist view, either before or after you became a member of the Socialist Workers Party?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. Separate the question. Ask it independently.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you ever been a member of the orthodox Communist Party?

Mr. SHAW. I decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WILLIS. Have you ever been a member of the Communst Party?

Mr. SHAW. I decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WILLIS. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SHAW. I decline to answer on all the grounds of conscience and constitutional right previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you also on the payroll of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Mr. SHAW. I decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. While in Detroit, Michigan, did you not serve as an organizer for the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Mr. SHAW. I decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you establish chapters of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee on the campuses of Wayne State University and the University of Michigan?

Mr. SHAW. I decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. In the course of its investigation, this committee has acquired information that you departed from Mexico City on September 18, 1961, for Havana, Cuba, and that while in Havana, Cuba, you made application for and were issued a Mexican Tourist Card bearing No. 2798249; that you were issued this card by the Mexican Embassy in Havana, Cuba, on September 26, 1961.

Did you apply for and were you issued a Mexican Tourist Card in Havana, Cuba, on September 26, 1961, or at or about that time?

Mr. SHAW. I decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. The investigation of the committee also reveals that you arrived in Mexico City from Havana, Cuba, on October 13, 1961. Did you?

Mr. SHAW. I decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions.

Mr. WILLIS. I again call your attention, sir, to the regulations promulgated by the Department of State on January 16, 1961, pursuant to the provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 prohibiting travel to Cuba by any citizen of the United States, or any person owing allegiance to the United States, unless he bears a passport validated by the Secretary of State for travel to Cuba.

I now ask you these questions:

Did you, since January 16, 1961, travel to Cuba with a passport?

(At this point Representatives Tuck and Schadeberg left the hearing room.)

Mr. SHAW. I decline to answer on all the grounds of conscience and constitutional right previously stated.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you travel to Cuba without a passport?

Mr. SHAW. I decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you travel to Cuba via Mexico City and thereby circumvent the regulations indicated?

Mr. SHAW. I decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Counsel, I respectfully suggest that this case be referred to the Department of Justice for consideration for prosecution.

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. The witness is excused.

Mr. SHAW. Does that mean dismissed for the period of this subpena and not held over?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes, you are dismissed under the present subpena; that is correct.

Mr. SHANKS. Thank you very much.

Mr. WILLIS. The Chair announces that the members must go to the floor to respond to a rollcall vote on a bill and that will take about 20 minutes, I suppose.

In the meantime, when we reconvene within 20 minutes or a half hour, we will hear the next witness in executive session, meaning that at that time no one will be permitted in the hearing room except the committee members, and that will conclude this phase of these hearings which probably will be continued at a later date. So the audience is dismissed. When we get back we will hear the next witness in executive session.

(Subcommittee members present at time of recess: Representatives Willis and Johansen.)

(Whereupon, at 2:30 p.m., Tuesday, May 7, 1963, the subcommittee recessed to reconvene in executive session at 3:05 p.m. the same day.)

VIOLATIONS OF STATE DEPARTMENT REGULATIONS AND PRO-CASTRO PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

Part 1

THURSDAY, MAY 23, 1963

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 10:15 a.m. in the Caucus Room, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Honorable Edwin E. Willis (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Subcommittee members: Representatives Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana; William M. Tuck, of Virginia; and August E. Johansen, of Michigan.

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Willis, Tuck, and Johansen.

Committee members also present: Representatives Joe R. Pool, of Texas; Donald C. Bruce, of Indiana; and Henry C. Schadeberg, of Wisconsin. (Appearances as noted.)

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; Alfred M. Nittle, counsel; and Louis J. Russell, investigator.

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will please come to order.

This is a continuation of the meeting of May 6, 1963. The purposes were fully outlined in the opening statement made on that day, which is already part of the record.

Mr. Counsel, will you please call your first witness?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir.

Vincent Theodore Lee please come forward.

Mr. WILLIS. Please raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF VINCENT THEODORE LEE, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, STANLEY FAULKNER

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state your full name and residence for the record, please?

Mr. LEE. My name is Vincent Theodore Lee.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. LEE. I am, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Would counsel kindly identify himself for the record, stating his name and office address?

Mr. FAULKNER. Stanley Faulkner, F-a-u-l-k-n-e-r, 9 East 40, New York 16, New York.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Lee, have you received a copy of the chairman's opening statement?

Mr. LEE. Yes, I have.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you been known by any name other than Vincent Theodore Lee? I ask that for the purposes of identification.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you fear that to disclose that answer might subject you to a criminal prosecution? Is that it?

Mr. LEE. I invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment of the Constitution, which does not do anything but protect me from bearing witness, sir. It has nothing to do with fear of anything.

Mr. WILLIS. I did not hear that.

Mr. LEE. It has nothing to do with fear, sir; it has to do with invoking my privileges under the fifth amendment, which provides me with the opportunity not to bear witness against myself.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state the date and place of your birth?

Mr. LEE. August 11, 1927, New York City.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, would you relate the extent of your formal education, please?

Mr. LEE. I would say 12 years.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you give the names and dates of attendance at institutions of learning?

Mr. LEE. I can't remember those names or dates. It's been a long time.

Mr. NITTLE. Where did you have your 12 years of education?

Mr. LEE. My elementary school education was in New York.

Mr. NITTLE. Beg pardon?

Mr. LEE. New York City.

Mr. NITTLE. What other education did you have in addition to elementary school in New York City?

Mr. LEE. I had vocational school training.

Mr. NITTLE. Where was that obtained?

Mr. LEE. Florida.

Mr. NITTLE. And what was the name of the school?

Mr. LEE. The Brewster Vocational School.

Mr. NITTLE. How long did you remain at the Brewster School?

Mr. LEE. Two years.

(At this point Mr. Bruce entered the hearing room.)

Mr. NITTLE. Now, you stated you had 12 years of educational training. What other training did you have in addition to elementary school and attendance at the Brewster School?

Mr. LEE. None.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you in attendance at the elementary school and the Brewster School for a total of 12 years?

Mr. WILLIS. Two years, he said. He answered that.

Mr. NITTLE. I mean both.

Mr. LEE. The 2 years in Brewster.

Mr. NITTLE. No, I meant to say, Didn't you say you had 12 years of education?

Mr. LEE. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Now the elementary school was a period of 9 years, I believe, and then you added 2 at Brewster. It seems to me that would be 11. Was there another year in attendance at some other school?

Mr. LEE. As I said earlier, I can't recall my earlier education, the early years, which took place quite some time ago, and I may not have the dates.

Mr. WILLIS. Well, never mind the dates.

Mr. LEE. I don't know——

Mr. WILLIS. Besides going to high school and the trade school in Florida, did you attend any other school, anywhere?

Mr. LEE. Not to my knowledge that I can remember.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the vocational training you received at Brewster?

Mr. LEE. Woodworking.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you inform the committee of the principal employments you have held?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment of the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. What is your present occupation, Mr. Lee?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, as recently as April 3, 1961, in the passport application filed with the Department of State, you stated that your occupation was that of a furniture maker and salesman. Were you then thus employed?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment of the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Is that your present occupation?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment of the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you also been employed at some time as a seaman?

Mr. LEE. Decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment of the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you not on August 14, 1944, issued a seaman's passport, No. 227364?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment of the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you ever been a free-lance journalist and radio reporter?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment of the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Lee, I hand you a photostatic copy of the passport application subscribed to by a Vincent Theodore Lee as of April 3, 1961, marked for identification as "Lee Exhibit No. 1."

Did you not subscribe to that application and file it with the Department of State?

Mr. LEE. Decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment of the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I offer Lee Exhibit 1 for the record, to be retained in the committee's files.

Mr. WILLIS. Let the document be admitted.

(Document marked "Lee Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Pursuant to that application, was not a passport issued to you by the Department of State at Miami, Florida, on April 6, 1961?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment of the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Your application states that you intended to visit the countries of Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua; that the purpose of your visit was as a tourist; and that the approximate date of departure would be June 1961. Your proposed length of stay was stated as 3 months.

Now, at the time you filed your application for passport, was it your true purpose to visit those countries?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you visit those countries?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. At the time you filed that passport application, did you have any purpose of travel other than as a tourist?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Neither the United States nor those countries of Latin America that you have listed upon your passport application require a United States passport for travel to such countries. Would you tell us what your purpose was at the time of application for a passport, in making application for travel to the countries you have listed?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you on July 19, 1962, make application to the Department of State for validation of the passport which was issued to you on April 6, 1961, for travel to Cuba?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Lee, I hand you a photostatic copy of a letter dated July 19, 1962, at 331 East 9th Street, New York 3, New York, addressed to the Department of State, Passport Division, Washington 25, D.C., and signed by Vincent T. Lee, marked for identification as "Lee Exhibit No. 2."

Except for notations thereon by the Department of State, is that not a true copy of your letter to the Department of State of that date?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I offer Lee Exhibit No. 2 for the record.

Mr. WILLIS. Let it be incorporated in the record.

(Document marked "Lee Exhibit No. 2" follows.)

LEE EXHIBIT NO. 2

FILE
JUL 2 1962
ACTION COMPLETED

331 East 78th Street
New York 3, New York
July 19, 1962

Department of State
Passport Division
Washington 25, D. C.

Gentlemen:

I am hereby applying for permission to visit Cuba between August 30, 1962 and November 30, 1962 as a free lance journalist and radio reporter. In addition to the assignment from Radio Station WBAI, I expect to send material to the North American Newspaper Alliance and various small newspapers across the country. I am enclosing my passport for validation which I hope will be granted swiftly. I am also enclosing a letter from Radio Station WBAI.

Sincerely yours,

Vincent T. Lee

Vincent T. Lee

Two enclosures.

I expect to travel and use various hotel accomodations and expect to notify the Swiss Consul upon arrival.

Mr. NITTLE. In that letter, Exhibit No. 2, you applied for permission to visit Cuba between August 30, 1962, and November 30, 1962, as a free-lance journalist and radio reporter. You then state:

In addition to the assignment from Radio Station WBAI, I expect to send material to the North American Newspaper Alliance and various small newspapers across the country.

You add that you are enclosing a letter from Radio Station WBAI.

I hand you a photostatic copy of letter of July 19, 1962, upon the letterhead of Station WBAI, signed by Richard M. Elman, their public affairs director, marked for identification as "Lee Exhibit No. 3."

Is that not a true copy of the letter to which you referred and enclosed in support of your application of July 19, 1962?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

(At this point Mr. Tuck entered the hearing room.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I offer Lee Exhibit No. 3 for the record.

Mr. WILLIS. Let it be inserted in the record.

(Document marked "Lee Exhibit No. 3" follows.)

LEE EXHIBIT NO. 3

wbai 99.5 MC FM
PACIFICA FOUNDATION
LISTENER SUPPORTED RADIO STATION
30 EAST 39TH STREET
NEW YORK 16, N.Y.
OXFORD 7-2288

July 19, 1962

Department Of State
Passport Division
Rockefeller Center, N.Y.

To Whom It May Concern:

Mr. Vincent T Lee, a free-lance journalist, has volunteered to perform an assignment for us which we have long wanted to see fulfilled - namely, to go to Cuba and to conduct tape recorded interviews consisting of specific questions prepared in advance by our Public Affairs Department for Dr Fidel Castro and Dr Ernesto (Che) Guevara.

While he is in Cuba, he also hopes to collect interviews with members of the community on a wide variety of subjects which would form the basis for programs and documentaries to be auditioned and accepted for broadcast over WBAI if they are found to be of interest.

On this basis we request that you validate his passport on our behalf to go to Cuba and conduct this business.

Sincerely yours,
Richard M Elman
Public Affairs Director

Mr. NITTLE. Now that supporting letter of Station WBAI describes you as a free-lance journalist who has volunteered to perform an assignment for them, namely, and I quote from the letter—

to go to Cuba and to conduct tape recorded interviews consisting of specific questions prepared in advance by our Public Affairs Department for Dr. Fidel Castro and Dr. Ernesto (Che) Guevara.

What knowledge did Richard M. Elman, the public affairs director of Station WBAI, possess of your occupation, from which he concluded and described your occupation to be that of a free-lance journalist?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. How long have you known Richard M. Elman?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. What information did you communicate to him as to your occupational status?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you name any specific publications by which you had been employed, or which had published articles written by you at any time?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you name them for the committee now?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Had you on July 19, 1962, or prior to that date, consummated any arrangement with Castro or Guevara, or their representatives, to conduct such interviews with them?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Although you enclosed the letter of Station WBAI in support of your letter of application, you did not enclose any confirmatory statement of any official of the North American Newspaper Alliance, to which in your letter of application you said you expected to send material as well.

Did you have any arrangements with the North American Newspaper Alliance, Incorporated, to perform any service for them at the time you made this application on July 19, 1962?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Lee, I have before me an original letter dated May 16, 1963, on the letterhead of the North American Newspaper Alliance, Inc., signed by Sid Goldberg, editor, marked for identification as "Lee Exhibit No. 4." In this letter, Mr. Goldberg states that so far as he recalls, and so far as the records of the firm indicate, the North American Newspaper Alliance never—

distributed a story—or received one—by Mr. Lee.

I do not recall having had any dealings whatsoever with Mr. Lee, and never heard of him before Mr. Russell's call—at least not to the best of my memory.

I might state that the "Mr. Russell" to whom he refers is a committee investigator who contacted Mr. Goldberg on May 15, 1963.

I hand you this exhibit and ask you to read it.

Now, Mr. Lee, do you have any explanation to offer or any correction to make to the statement of Mr. Goldberg?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment of the Constitution, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I offer Lee Exhibit No. 4 for the record.

Mr. WILLIS. It will be incorporated.

(Document marked "Lee Exhibit No. 4" follows.)

LEE EXHIBIT NO. 4

NORTH AMERICAN NEWSPAPER ALLIANCE, INC.

230 WEST 41ST STREET · NEW YORK 36

SID GOLDBERG
Editor

Cable Addresses
NANEWSAL { NEW YORK / LONDON
Tel. CHickering 4-1690

May 16, 1963

Mr. Francis J. McNamara
Director
Committee on Un-American Activities
266 Old House Office Building
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. McNamara:

Mr. L. J. Russell, one of your investigators, phoned me yesterday about Vincent Ted Lee who, as I understand it, is supposed to have had some connection with NANA. Particularly, Mr. Russell said that in 1961 we may have requested the State Department to validate Mr. Lee's passport for travel to Cuba.

So far as I recall, and our records indicate, we never made such application to the State Department, nor do we have a record of ever having distributed a story--or received one--by Mr. Lee.

I do not recall having had any dealings whatsoever with Mr. Lee, and never heard of him before Mr. Russell's call--at least not to the best of my memory.

Sincerely,

Sid Goldberg

SG:dc

Mr. NITTLE. On July 26, 1962, the Department of State validated your passport for travel to Cuba for a period not to extend beyond December 30, 1962. Did you not thereafter on December 26, 1962, leave New York via Mexico for Cuba, where you remained until January 22, 1963, after the date of expiration of the validation?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. WILLIS. When did the passport or travel papers authorize him to travel? What was the limit of the time? Valid up to when?

Mr. NITTLE. Valid until December 30, 1962, Mr. Willis.

Mr. WILLIS. And your last question was whether he had traveled after that?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir. Whether in fact he did not travel, leave New York on December 26, 1962, for Cuba via Mexico, remaining in Cuba until January 22, 1963.

Mr. Lee, I hand you a copy of a booklet of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, the opening article in which is titled "Drums of War," marked for identification as "Lee Exhibit No. 5."

Is that not a copy of a booklet issued under your name and distributed by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. And was not that booklet issued in 1963 after your return from Cuba?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Is that your signature at the end of the item?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I offer Lee Exhibit No. 5 for the record.

Mr. WILLIS. Let it be incorporated as Exhibit 5.

(Document marked "Lee Exhibit No. 5." See appendix, pp. 411–418.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Lee, I want to direct your attention to the second paragraph appearing on page 4 of Exhibit No. 5, which reads as follows:

FIRST-HAND REPORT

I would like to report that what I have to say concerning Cuba is based on first-hand information. On December 26th I left New York on a trip to Cuba and did not return until the 22nd of January. I spent almost a month in Cuba and was able to witness many of these things of which I speak.

Is that not your own statement as to the period of time of your visit to Cuba?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. FAULKNER. Did you offer that in evidence?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Now, I have already mentioned that your passport was validated for a period expiring December 30, 1962. Did you receive any extension of validation from the United States State Department, either directly or through the Swiss Embassy?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. WILLIS. The question was what—Did he make the application to extend the period?

Mr. NITTLE. Whether he actually received any extension of validation from the United States State Department or through the Swiss Embassy.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you make application for such an extension?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question, sir, and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. WILLIS. If you did not make any application, did you have any valid reason—sickness or other good reasons—for overstaying?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. You have no explanation to offer as to whether or not you obtained an extension, or have been excused from obtaining it, either prior or subsequent to your return to the United States in January of 1963?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Lee, the committee's investigation discloses that, upon your return to the United States, you reportedly made several eyewitness reports to audiences here. Indeed, a wireless broadcast from Havana, made April 3, 1963, reported as follows:

> New York—Vincent T. Lee, head of a Fair Play for Cuba Committee, announced in New York that the truth of the Cuban revolution and its great achievement will be made public in the principal U.S. cities through lectures and color films. For this purpose, Vincent T. Lee left for Los Angeles, where he will be interviewed on radio and television programs. On Friday, 5 April, Lee will give a lecture at a university in Los Angeles during which he will show color films taken during his recent trip to Cuba.

Now, in view of the announcements of your proposed efforts by Havana radio, we should inquire whether any arrangements or agreement was entered into between you and Cuban authorities whereby it was understood that you would undertake a lecture tour and certain activities on behalf of Castro's Cuba on your return here. Was any such arrangement made?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you receive any compensation from the Cuban Government for such services to be rendered?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Lee, several witnesses who have testified before this committee, and who have engaged in pro-Castro propaganda activities, have testified that their hotel expenses and certain accommodations were provided for them free of charge by the Cuban Government during their visits to Cuba. Did you receive any such benefits?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. We are informed that you are presently, or were until recently at least, the national director of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Are you the national director of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. The booklet, Exhibit No. 5 which I handed you, issued under your signature this year, gives your title as national director of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Does it not?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

(At this point Mr. Pool entered the hearing room.)

Mr. NITTLE. The Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security has conducted an extensive investigation of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. There is substantial evidence indicating that the Fair Play for Cuba Committee has the endorsement of, and has received some financial assistance from, the Cuban Government and that the Fair Play for Cuba Committee has also received instructions through the Cuban mission to the United Nations.

Would you, Mr. Lee, tell the Congress whether or not you have received compensation as national director of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, either directly or indirectly, in whole or in part, from the Castro regime?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. You have in fact appeared in several cities of the United States, both before and since your return from Cuba. You have lectured, shown color films, and written and disseminated pamphlets upon the subject of Cuba. Is that not true?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. And is it not also true that all of your activities of this sort have been intended to support, and have in fact supported, the Communist regime in Cuba?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us by whom your lecture engagements are arranged?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Lee, I hand you a copy of page 11 of the official Communist publication, *The Worker*, dated Sunday, March 4, 1962, marked for identification as "Lee Exhibit No. 6." In the right-hand column, entitled "What's On." the following appears:

CURRENT ACTIVITIES of the Cuban Counterrevolutionaries in the U.S.A., a report by V. T. Lee, Monday, March 12, at 8:30 p.m., Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave., Contribution $1. Auspices: Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

The advertisement indicates that the lecture is under the auspices of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Did your committee make any contribution for the publication of this notice in *The Worker?*

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you in fact deliver the lecture at Adelphi Hall upon the subject appearing in *The Worker?*

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

(Document marked "Lee Exhibit No. 6," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Now I hand you a copy of a booklet, priced at 15 cents, titled "Cuban Counter-Revolutionaires in the United States: Who are they? Who subsidizes them? How do they menace freedom in the U.S. as well as in Cuba?" by V. T. Lee, past president, Tampa Bay chapter, Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

The booklet is marked for identification as "Lee Exhibit No. 7."

Appearing on the cover page is the statement that this is: "An abridged version of a lecture delivered at a forum of the N.Y. Chapter, FPCC [Fair Play for Cuba Committee] on March 12, 1962. Published by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee."

Is that, Mr. Lee, a copy of the lecture you delivered at the Adelphi Hall on March 12, 1962?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I offer Lee Exhibit No. 7 for the record.

Mr. WILLIS. Let it be incorporated in the record, and so marked.

(Document marked "Lee Exhibit No. 7." See appendix pp. 419–430.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Lee, would we be correct in noting that the style of English composition in Exhibit No. 7 differs noticeably from the style of English composition in Exhibit No. 5, "Drums of War," which likewise appears under your signature?

Mr. FAULKNER. What's the question?

Mr. LEE. I don't understand the question.

Mr. NITTLE. Let me put it this way: In view of that observation, we would like to inquire whether you are the author of Exhibit No. 5, "Drums of War," issued under your signature, and Exhibit No. 7, "Cuban Counter-Revolutionaires in the United States," which likewise appeared under your signature?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were these two exhibits, or either of them, written for you by other persons?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you not also seek church groups as a forum for your message about Cuba?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you address a meeting arranged by the Los Angeles chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee at the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles at 2936 West 8th Street, Los Angeles, California, on Friday, April 6, 1963?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you introduced by Rev. Stephen Fritchman as the speaker of the evening on that occasion?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Lee, committee investigation reveals that you did address that meeting; that you were introduced by Rev. Stephen Fritchman and, during the course of your address, you advised the audience that in mid-December of 1962 you flew to Mexico City and from there to Cuba; that you spent approximately 30 days in Cuba

and returned to the United States in mid-January. The committee's investigation also reveals that another speaker at the meeting was Helen Travis, T-r-a-v-i-s, an identified Communist Party member, who was further recently identified in hearings before this committee as the secretary of the Los Angeles branch of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee. She opened the meeting, in fact, and introduced the Reverend Stephen Fritchman, who in turn introduced you.

Helen Travis stated on that occasion that the Fair Play for Cuba Committee was working strongly to reorganize the Fair Play for Cuba Committee to educate Americans about Cuba, and to aid the Castro government.

Do you recall Helen Travis making those statements?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. As national director of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, would you tell us whether that is the purpose of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee—to aid the Castro government?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Helen Travis?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Lee, the committee prepared a brief summary of some of your speaking engagements. This is not intended by any means as a complete listing of your itinerary. As I read this brief summary into the record, I shall ask you to examine a copy.

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. NITTLE. June 16, 1961—Unitarian Church, Tampa, Florida, meeting of Fair Play for Cuba Committee, billed as its "First Cuba-American Night."

March 12, 1962—Adelphi Hall, New York City, auspices of Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

June 20, 1962—Palm Gardens, New York City, rally held by Cuban-American Civil Rights Committee.

February 6, 1963—Adelphi Hall, New York City, auspices of Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

February 8, 1963—691 Columbus Avenue, New York City, "Welcome Home Party," under auspices of Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

March 11, 1963—Adelphi Hall, New York City.

April 5, 1963—University of California at Los Angeles, meeting held by campus chapter of Young Socialist Alliance.

Is that account correct?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. I also understand, Mr. Lee, that you are engaged to speak at Yale University tomorrow night as a representative of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Is that correct?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Is it not a fact, Mr. Lee, that in each and every one of your lectures, including those listed in the summary, in which you have spoken on the subject of Cuba, your message has been sympathetic to, and in support of, the Castro Communist regime?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you delivered these lectures for the purpose of influencing the American people with respect to the political interests, policies, and relations of the Cuban Government?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you to date registered, or applied for registration, with the Attorney General as a foreign agent under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Lee, committee investigation reveals that you have also demonstrated an interest in the influencing of youth, particularly college students, on matters relating to Cuba. You have not only addressed students at the University of California, as the summary indicates, but elsewhere, as well. Have you not sought audiences for your message at American universities?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. For example, I hand you a copy of a leaflet issued under the auspices of the New York University Socialist Club, marked for identification as "Lee Exhibit No. 8." The leaflet states: "Had Enough Managed News? Then—'EYEWITNESS . . . CUBA' with V. T. Lee," and announces a lecture at the Commerce Building, Room 726, Friday, May 10, 1963, at 5 p.m.

Did you deliver a lecture on that date to students of New York University as advertised?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I offer Lee Exhibit 8 for the record.

Mr. WILLIS. Let it be admitted in the record.

(Document marked "Lee Exhibit No. 8" follows.)

LEE EXHIBIT NO. 8

HAD ENOUGH MANAGED NEWS?
THEN---

"EYEWITNESS . . . CUBA"

WITH

V. T. LEE

NATIONAL CHAIRMAN
FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE

HEAR ABOUT CUBA FROM A MAN WHO WAS JUST THERE. SEE COLOR SLIDES OF HIS EXCITING TRIP.

FRIDAY, MAY 10, 1963 5:00 p. m.

COMMERCE, RM. 726

AUSPICES:

N.Y.U. SOCIALIST CLUB

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Lee, in what way did you make arrangements, or were arrangements made for you, to speak before a New York University group?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. I now hand you a copy of the *Columbia OWL*, dated March 20, 1963, a publication of the School of General Studies of Columbia University in the City of New York, marked for identification as "Lee Exhibit No. 9."

I direct your attention to a notice appearing at the bottom of the first page, titled "CUBA AND US FOREIGN POLICY," in which the following appears:

> The Committee for Disarmament will present a lecture on 20 March, at 8:00 in Harkness Theatre. Mr. V. T. Lee of the "Fair Play for Cuba Committee" will speak on Cuba and US Foreign Policy. All interested are invited to attend.

Now, would you tell us in what manner your appearance was arranged for before the Committee for Disarmament at Columbia University?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

(Document marked "Lee Exhibit No. 9" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Did you participate in the formation of an organization entitled "Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba"?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Steve Martinot?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Levi Lee Laub, L-a-u-b?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were Mr. Martinot and Mr. Laub graduate students at Columbia University?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did either Steve Martinot or Levi Lee Laub arrange your speaking engagement at Columbia University?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Anatol Isaac Schlosser?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Is he a graduate student at New York University?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did Anatol Isaac Schlosser arrange for your speaking engagement at New York University?

Mr. LEE. Decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Steve Martinot, Levi Lee Laub, and Anatol Isaac Schlosser as leaders of the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know them as leaders of a successor group, titled the "Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba"?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Lee, did you counsel and advise them with respect to any of their activities in either the Ad Hoc or the Permanent Student group to which I have just referred?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, if you did not counsel and advise with them, how could that possibly incriminate you?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment of the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. On December 22, 1962, the Canadian Government refused to allow a group of American students, of which Martinot and Schlosser had been publicly reported as spokesmen, to use Montreal, Canada, as a point of departure for a Christmas trip to Cuba in violation of United States travel regulations.

Did you, Mr. Lee, participate in the arrangements being made for these students in Canada, designed to accomplish such travel to Cuba in violation of the laws and regulations of the United States Government?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Had you yourself initially planned your travel to Cuba to coincide with their departure for that country?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Before concluding the staff interrogation I would like to ask just one or two questions more.

Have you ever been denied a passport?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question, sir, and invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. FAULKNER. Counselor, I still have here Exhibit 9 that is listed with the mention of the debate against HUAC here and the other thing on the bottom you brought up before. Are you offering Exhibit 9?

Mr. NITTLE. That has been offered.

Mr. FAULKNER. The full front page?

Mr. NITTLE. The article to which we have referred.

Mr. FAULKNER. I see.

Mr. WILLIS. After consultation with the committee, the Chair requests that arrangements be made to send a transcript of Mr. Lee's testimony and the exhibits offered to the Department of Justice, as the basis for consideration for possible criminal prosecution.

Is that all with Mr. Lee?

Mr. NITTLE. The staff has no further questions of this witness, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. The witness is excused.

Mr. NITTLE. Would Anatol Isaac Schlosser please come forward?

Mr. WILLIS. Raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ANATOL ISAAC SCHLOSSER, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, JOSEPH FORER

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state your full name, spelling it as well, and your residence for the record, please?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. Anatol Isaac Schlosser, A-n-a-t-o-l I-s-a-a-c S-c-h-l-o-s-s-e-r, 42 St. Marks Place, New York 3.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. Yes, I am.

Mr. NITTLE. Would counsel kindly identify himself, stating his name and office address?

Mr. FORER. Joseph Forer, and I am still at 711 14th Street, NW., Washington, D.C.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Schlosser, have you been known by any name other than Anatol Isaac Schlosser?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. No, I have not.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state the date and place of your birth, please?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. April 7, 1937, New York City.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you relate the extent of your formal education, giving the names of the educational institutions at which you were in attendance, the years of your attendance, and any degrees you may have received?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I am a graduate of James Monroe High School in 1954, graduate of New York University with a B.A. degree in 1958, February—let's see. Attendant at Catholic University of Louvain for one year, from 1958 to 1959, attendant at New York University School of Law from 1960 to 1961, and I have my master's, received——

Mr. NITTLE. Just a moment. New York University School of Law?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. That's correct.

Mr. NITTLE. For what period?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I believe it was from 1960 through 1961.

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Mr. SCHLOSSER. And then through 1961 through '62, I received my master's from New York University.

Mr. NITTLE. Your master's degree in what?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. In English literature and drama.

Mr. NITTLE. What is your present occupation?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer that question on the following grounds: I consider this inquiry an interference with the constitutional rights of free speech, free thought, free association, free travel. I believe that in a democracy it is the individual who has the right and the duty to question the Government as to its actions. The Government does not have the right to question the individual. This committee has misused its legislative purpose by holding inquiry into foreign affairs and aiding in the propaganda of warmongering policies. This question is irrelevant to the avowed legislative purpose of this com-

mittee and to the avowed subject under inquiry, and on the grounds of my privilege under the fifth amendment not to be a witness against myself.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you presently in attendance at Columbia University in the graduate school?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you presently a graduate student at New York University?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you ever been in attendance at New York University, since the year 1961?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Will you state the period since 1961 that you have been in attendance at NYU?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I completed my master's in 1962 and I started taking courses there again towards my doctorate in September of 1962. But I am not now in attendance.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you in possession, Mr. Schlosser, of a United States passport?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I have already stated the reasons for my refusal and I stick by them to this question.

Mr. NITTLE. Committee investigation reveals that you have held a U.S. passport since 1958; that you last applied to the State Department for its renewal on June 8, 1962; and that on June 11, 1962, you were issued a U.S. passport, No. C–44149. This information is correct, is it not?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer on the grounds already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. In your application of June 8, 1962, you listed the countries to be visited as being England, France, Holland, and Italy, for an indefinite period of 3 months. Did you actually visit these countries at any time after that date?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds that I stated above.

Mr. NITTLE. At the time of your application of June 8, 1962, did you apply for the renewal of your passport with the purpose in mind of also applying later for a validation of that passport for travel to Cuba?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. This is what I consider a loaded question. This makes the assumption that I have applied, or possess a passport.

Mr. NITTLE. Well, you can certainly clarify that situation.

Mr. SCHLOSSER. As I have already refused to answer——

Mr. NITTLE. We have stated that the investigation reveals you did do certain things, and you have been given the opportunity to correct us if any error has been made.

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I have already refused to answer those questions, and I refuse to answer this one, for the reasons stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you at any time on or after June 8, 1962, at which time you applied for a renewal of your passport, make an application for a validation of that passport for travel to Cuba?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds I already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you at any time since that date visited Cuba?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Schlosser, are you a member of a group titled the "Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba"?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds already stated.

Mr. WILLIS. You just said that you had not traveled to Cuba after the date indicated. Will you indicate if you traveled out of the country anywhere else, except Cuba?

Mr. FORER. What date?

Mr. NITTLE. I believe Mr. Willis stated June 8, 1962, which was the date of application for renewal of the passport.

Mr. FORER. The date of the application, or the date of the alleged application?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer on the grounds already stated.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you travel to Mexico?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer on the grounds already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you travel to Canada?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer on the grounds already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you, Mr. Schlosser, tell us the names of the officers of the group and what positions they hold in the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds already stated and, furthermore, I believe so to answer this question would be against my principles and my conscience to become an informer.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, Mr. Schlosser, I will read the text of a wireless broadcast from Havana, Cuba, November 29, 1962.

Mr. WILLIS. From what text?

Mr. NITTLE. Of a wireless broadcast beamed from Havana, Cuba, November 29, 1962, which we have marked for identification as "Schlosser Exhibit No. 1."

The Cuban wireless reported in part stating:

It came to my attention this morning that some 80 students in the United States have expressed their desire to travel to Cuba despite all obstacles. This was announced by Anatol Schlosser of the organizing committee for trips to Cuba, in a press conference at the Hotel Sheraton, New York. He is quoted as saying that "the obstacles" [and this is your quote, now] "the obstacles set in the way by the State Department constitute a further violation of the rights of all U.S. citizens," and that "students of the United States ought to go see with their own eyes how the Cuban people live and work." Students expressing this desire, he said, attend universities in New York, Boston, Buffalo, and other U.S. cities, but "cannot get a clear picture from their newspapers of what is happening in Cuba, though it is generally realized that the Cuban revolution is one of the most important developments in the Western Hemisphere."

You are the Anatol Schlosser referred to in the Cuban broadcast as of the organizing committee for trips to Cuba?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I have already refused to answer any questions about this committee or my association with it. However, I do agree with the sentiments that were expressed in that release, and I would

like to go on record as saying that I believe that the right to travel is a right which is essential to American democracy. In fact, I consider it a basis of American democracy. This basis is the informed citizen, and there can be no restrictions upon what this citizen is to know or where he is to find that knowledge.

(Document marked "Schlosser Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WILLIS. Does that include the right to travel contrary to law and regulations?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I don't believe that there should even be such a law that should stand in the way of the right to travel or the right to seek knowledge.

Mr. WILLIS. You mean that the Federal Government has no right to regulate travel with a country with which we have no diplomatic relations? That we can't have laws on that subject?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I don't think that——

Mr. WILLIS. I don't want to discuss philosophy with you, but you opened the door, so I am asking you.

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I am stepping through and saying that I think that the Government does not have that right. In fact, this is an opinion not only shared by myself, but by the New York Bar Association, which made this statement in 1958, that "Whenever American citizens, including members of the press, are denied freedom of travel, to that extent, they as individuals, and the Nation as a whole, are less well equipped to make intelligent choices among the various courses of action available to individuals and to nations."

Mr. WILLIS. Well, that's probably true as a general statement; and, as a matter of fact, at present there is no denying people's travel to Cuba. There is a requirement that they have to have passports and a right to reject them. That's all we are talking about here. But you take the position that you can't stop or inquire into the question of travel in time of emergency, breaking of diplomatic relations, under a regulation simply saying that, in order to travel to Cuba, you have to have a valid passport? Do you say that this Government does not have that power?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. There might not be an emergency if people were given an opportunity to go and see.

Mr. WILLIS. I am not asking you that. I have raised the question, and I am just about done with it. You have read a statement of a fundamental principle about the right to travel. Is it your opinion and your position that, under existing situations, the United States Government cannot require that people traveling to Cuba have valid passports? Is that your position?

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman.

Did the New York Bar Association advocate or endorse violation of existing law and regulation?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I have no idea whether they do or they don't. They just talk about a principle which we feel is inimical to the very principle of law and democracy in the United States and this country.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I am very sure they did not. I am sure the witness knows they did not.

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed.

Mr. NITTLE. Is not the organizing committee to which the broadcast referred in fact the organization titled "Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba"?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you, as the Havana broadcast reported, make these facts known at a press conference at the Hotel Sheraton in New York?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds already stated.

Mr. WILLIS. Let me ask you this question, then, in view of what you have said.

Have you ever given advice to students in groups to the effect that they had the right to travel to Cuba as they wished; that no one could stop them, even to the extent of requiring a valid passport?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. Well, I refuse to answer that question on the grounds already stated, Mr. Chairman. I am not a lawyer to advise people.

Mr. WILLIS. I thought you were.

Proceed.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you hold that press conference completely on your own initiative?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. Again, this is presupposing that I have admitted having held such a press conference, and I refuse to answer that question on the grounds already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did anyone assist you in arranging or conducting the conference at the Hotel Sheraton?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. That's still a presupposition, and I still refuse to answer that question on the grounds already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you, as reported, state that the American newspapers do not give a clear picture of what is happening in Cuba?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. Again, that's a presupposition, and I refuse to answer that question. However, I do feel that the American press has often printed contradictory reports as to what is happening in Cuba.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you regard the American newspapers as giving a distorted account of the Cuban situation?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I will say that one can take up within a period of 6 months within newspapers, or even within the same newspapers, and find contradictory reports, and often distorted, and I feel that is due perhaps to a large degree to the travel ban which has also existed to members of the press, and that their rights to travel are just as much affected as every other citizen of this country.

Mr. WILLIS. Is there a travel ban against press people going to Cuba who have a valid passport?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. It's my understanding that some are allowed in, and some are not; that all do not have equal access.

Mr. WILLIS. Exactly; you are so right. And I am not talking in terms of press. I am talking in terms of regulations. That is exactly what this hearing is all about, violation of that regulation.

Mr. NITTLE. And Mr. Chairman, may I state for the record that the State Department has issued a release stating its policy to issue validated passports for travel to Cuba to legitimate and responsible newspapermen.

Mr. WILLIS. Well, you can include in that legitimate, responsible people.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, it is an interesting coincidence that Miss Nina Alekseyeva, a Soviet news analyst, in a Moscow radio broadcast of November 29, 1962, takes the same view as the witness. She said it was a "fine idea" the New York students had to arrange a trip to Cuba, and reported that, "Of any 10 dispatches about Cuba in the American press today, nine are sure to be distorted. Many U.S. politicians and journalists still claim that Cuba represents a major threat to the Western Hemisphere." She concluded, "That Washington does not want the truth about Cuba to reach Americans."

Mr. Schlosser, subsequently on December 12, 1962, the Cuban wireless broadcast from Havana that:

> A group of 80 or more U.S. students who have expressed their desire to know the truth about Cuba personally are planning to leave the United States for Cuba on the 22d or 23d of this month using the Montreal, Canada, route, despite the prohibition of the Kennedy government.

The text of the broadcast, which I have marked as "Schlosser Exhibit No. 2," is apparently based on a United Press International dispatch. The broadcast stated further that:

> The UPI agency reports that a spokesman for the group, the young Anatol [Schlosser], said that the U.S. students expect to stay in Havana for 10 days to two weeks.

You are the young Anatol Schlosser referred to, are you not, Mr. Schlosser?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. Well, I will only admit to being young, but to the rest of the question I refuse to answer on the grounds already stated.

(Document marked "Schlosser Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. The broadcast indicates that the group of 80-or-more U.S. students were planning to leave for Cuba, using a Montreal, Canada, route, because their travel to Cuba was not validated in accordance with the regulation and laws of the United States. As spokesman for the group, Mr. Schlosser, could you tell us whether any of the 80-or-more U.S. students possessed passports validated for travel to Cuba, or made application for same?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I don't want to interrupt, but again it presupposes a number of questions which I have already refused to answer, and I must refuse to answer this question on the grounds already stated.

Mr. WILLIS. Tell me—you said that you disapprove of our regulation based on law, requiring a valid passport to travel to Cuba—do you know whether under the Cuban system anyone from Cuba can leave Cuba at will?

Mr. FORER. Anyone from Cuba can what?

Mr. WILLIS. I am asking him if he knows.

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I have no idea if they can.

Mr. WILLIS. If there is such a ban, you would disapprove of that, too, I suppose?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I disapprove of all such bans.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you in fact, as a leader of the group of students, plan to utilize the Montreal, Canadian route, despite the ban on travel?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you yourself conceive of the idea of using the Montreal, Canada, route as a means of entering Cuba?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did any representative, official, or agent of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee suggest this route to you?

(Witnessed conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. That is again another presupposition question, and I refuse to answer on the grounds already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Schlosser, in the course of these hearings, Conrad Joseph Lynn testified on May 6, 1963, that a route was established through Canada to provide a means of travel for U.S. citizens from this country to Cuba. Have you had any discussion with Conrad Joseph Lynn with respect to a Canadian route to Cuba?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. No, I have not. I believe that he made mention of the underground railway. Isn't that it?

Mr. NITTLE. You are familiar with his testimony?

Mr. WILLIS. Do you know whether the Canadian Government would prohibit such practice?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. Which practice?

Mr. WILLIS. Of using a route via Montreal, or wherever it is, to go to Cuba contrary to the Canadian law and regulation?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. Well, I can't speak for the Canadian Government. I assume they are a sovereign nation and can make up their own minds as to their policies with other nations.

Mr. WILLIS. If they had such a regulation, would you approve or disapprove?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. That's up to the Canadian people to approve or disapprove.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. Have you expressed yourself against such a policy, if it exists, with reference to Canada and Cuba, as you now express yourself with reference to American law?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. My sympathies would be with the Canadian people.

Mr. WILLIS. About what?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. My sympathies would be with the Canadian people.

Mr. WILLIS. The Canadian people? You are assuming that the Canadian people would want to flout Canadian law?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. It is not a question of sympathizing with their right to break the law, but their right to travel, and my sympathies will always be on that principle.

Mr. WILLIS. And if they must travel, then they have a right to do it irregularly?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I don't think there should be any laws in the first place.

Mr. WILLIS. But if there is a law, you are for flouting it?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. That's for the Canadians to decide.

Mr. WILLIS. Let's come to America. If there is such a law, and there is, and such a regulation, and there is, you are so much for the freedom of travel that you advocate flouting American law and regulation?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I have not gone on record as having advocated that position and have not given much thought to it.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you think about it in preparing this press conference release attributed to you?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. Again it has only been attributed, and that's a presupposition.

Mr. WILLIS. If you had such an opportunity, would you tell those students so to do, go via Montreal, Canada?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. In violation of both our and Canadian law?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I consider this question both extremely hypothetical and rather obscure, and——

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. Vincent Theodore Lee testified today, as you know, immediately preceding your appearance on the stand. Mr. Lee is the national director of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Do you know Mr. Lee?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds already stated; and I did not hear him testify, by the way, to such fact.

Mr. NITTLE. As a matter of fact, Mr. Lee resides at 37½ St. Marks Place, New York City. Is not this address directly across the street from your own?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. Directly across the street, there happens to be two antique shops and an old-age home. I don't know what their numbers are, or in which one Mr. Lee might reside.

Mr. NITTLE. It's in the immediate area, is it not, of your residence?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. If there is such a number, I imagine it would be.

Mr. NITTLE. Well, what is the number of your residence?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I have already stated that. It's 42 St. Marks Place.

Mr. NITTLE. The committee has reason to believe that you do know Mr. Lee, and we would like to inquire how long you have known him?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I have not stated that I have known Mr. Lee and I refuse to answer that question on the grounds already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you had any discussions with Mr. Lee relating to the organization of the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. Again that's a presupposition, and I refuse to answer that question on the grounds already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Very well, is the "presupposition" correct or incorrect?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer that grounds—that question on the grounds already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Didn't Mr. Lee assist you in preparations made for travel to Cuba through Canada?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that I have already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you assist in arranging for Mr. Lee's speaking engagement at New York University of May 10, 1963?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you participated in the recruiting of students at New York University for the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Referring back again to the Havana broadcast of December 12, 1962, it was further reported that you stated that the travel to Havana would be made at the invitation of the Federation of University Students of Cuba. Was an invitation extended to the Ad Hoc Student Committee, of which you are the spokesman, by the Federation of University Students of Cuba?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds already stated, but I can very readily understand why the Cuban students might very well want to meet American students and a reciprocal feeling existing among the American students.

Mr. NITTLE. With respect to that feeling, is it also your feeling that the Federation of Cuban Students initiated the correspondence with your committee? Is that what you mean to say?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I mean to say I refuse to answer that question on the grounds already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Well now, *New Times*, a Soviet weekly published by Trud in Moscow in several languages, including the English, and circulated throughout the world, including the United States, reports in its December 26, 1962, issue, No. 52, that your committee initiated the correspondence with the Federation of Cuban University Students. The account in *New Times*, at page 23, stated in part:

> The committee sent two letters: one to the Cuban youth organizations and the other to the State Department, asking it for exit visas. In its reply, the Federation of Cuban University Students invited the American students to spend the Christmas holidays in Cuba. The invitation was gratefully accepted and eighty young men and women excitedly began to prepare for the trip.

Does the *New Times* correctly report that your committee initiated the correspondence?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. Well, I may as well refuse to answer that question on the grounds already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, was this correspondence and invitation prearranged? By that I mean to say, were you informed through some

source that the Federation of University Students of Cuba would extend this invitation prior to the initiation of the correspondence by your committee?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. If this is the invitation that is referred to in the preceding question, which I have already refused to answer, then I must refuse to answer this question on the grounds already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Well, is the "presupposition" correct or is it incorrect?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I must refuse to answer that question on the grounds already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, the Havana broadcast mentioned the United Press International news agency as a source for at least a part of the information it reported. I now hand you a more detailed account of the United Press International dispatch as reported in the *Washington Daily News* of December 12, 1962, at page 12, marked for identification as "Schlosser Exhibit No. 3."

I ask you to examine the account in Exhibit No. 3.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. NITTLE. Have you any corrections to make in the report of Exhibit No. 3?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. Would you say that again?

Mr. NITTLE. Have you any corrections to make? Are the facts as stated by the United Press International in that report correct?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I have already refused to answer that question in various forms and I refuse to answer it again on the grounds already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. The *Washington Daily News* report, Exhibit No. 3, which you have just examined, reports you as saying that the group of students making the trip was "cognizant of the fact that the government has denied us permission and does not want us to go."

Did you make that statement?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer that question on all of the grounds already stated.

(Document marked "Schlosser Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. An account dispatched by the Associated Press reported in the *Christian Science Monitor* of December 18, 1962, under the caption, "Students May Defy Cuban Travel Ban,"[1] was as follows:

> A graduate student says he expects from 30 to 100 American students to defy a State Department ban and travel to Cuba late this month so they can make up their own minds on whether the government of Premier Fidel Castro is good or evil.
>
> "We are exercising our rights to travel and seek and gather information," said Anatol I. Schlosser, a drama student at New York University, who describes himself as a spokesman for the Ad Hoc Student Committee.
>
> Mr. Schlosser said the State Department warned him in a letter last week that any students making the trip would face a fine of $5,000, and five years' imprisonment.

This account, Mr. Schlosser, declares that you were warned by the State Department in a letter. Did you receive a letter of warning from the State Department?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

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[1] Reprinted in *Progressive Labor* January 1963.

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I think it's a shame that the State Department should send such a letter to anybody, and——

Mr. WILLIS. Well, did they send it to you?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer that question on all the grounds stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Schlosser, the State Department issued a General Press Release, No. 729, on December 13, 1962, a copy of which I have before me marked for identification as "Schlosser Exhibit No. 4." I shall read it into the record.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FOR THE PRESS

December 13, 1962 NO. 729

On January 16, 1961, the Department of State announced that in view of the United States Government's inability to extend normal protective services to Americans visiting Cuba, United States citizens desiring to go to Cuba must obtain passports specifically endorsed by the Department of State for such travel. This requirement is still in effect.

Passports of United States citizens may be validated for travel to Cuba when their travel may be regarded as being in the best interests of the United States, such as newsmen or businessmen with previously established business interests.

The Department has recently received information from several sources that a group of American students is being encouraged to visit Cuba during the Christmas holidays. Since these students do not meet the established criteria, their passports have not been validated for such travel.

The Department warns all concerned that travel to Cuba by a United States citizen without a passport specifically validated by the Department of State for that purpose constitutes a violation of the Travel Control Law and Regulations. (Title 8 U.S. Code, Sec. 1185; Title 22 Code of Federal Regulations, Sec. 53.3). A wilful violation of the law is punishable by fine and/or imprisonment.

I hand you a copy of that exhibit, Mr. Schlosser.

As a matter of fact, did not the State Department send you a copy of that? And is not that press release the "letter" to which you refer?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer that question on all the grounds previously stated.

(Document marked "Schlosser Exhibit No. 4" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Press reports relating to the proposed travel organized by the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba have also contained statements by a Steve Martinot, M-a-r-t-i-no-t, describing him likewise as a spokesman for your organization.

Do you know Steve Martinot?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. This is a presupposition question which assumes that it is my organization. The question is so designed to make me admit to that and to put me in a position of being a stool pigeon. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. But now, is the "presupposition" that this is your organization incorrect?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. That has been tried before, and I refuse to answer that question, yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Yes. And are you cognizant of your duties as a United States citizen to testify in a proceeding that is lawfully constituted?

Mr. FORER. I object to that question. The witness is not a lawyer.

Mr. WILLIS. Well, I thought he had a law degree, but proceed, Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir.

Now, was Steve Martinot a spokesman for the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba, to your knowledge?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds already stated.

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will stand in recess until 1:30.

(Whereupon, at 11:55 a.m., Thursday, May 23, 1963, the hearings were recessed, to reconvene at 1:30 p.m., the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION—THURSDAY, MAY 23, 1963

(The subcommittee reconvened at 1:45 p.m., Honorable Edwin E. Willis, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.)

(Subcommittee members present: Representatives Willis and Johansen.)

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will please come to order.

Let us proceed.

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF ANATOL ISAAC SCHLOSSER—Resumed

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Schlosser, the Christmas 1962 plan for travel to Cuba, we understand, was finally frustrated by the refusal of the Canadian authorities to allow the student group to use Canada as a place of departure for Cuba. This was announced by the Canadian Government in a press release issued December 22, 1962. That is also your information, is it not?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. It seems to be the committee's information. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that I have already stated at the beginning of this inquiry.

Mr. NITTLE. Has your Ad Hoc Committee now been organized as a group or a successor group titled the "Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba"?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I don't recall that in any of the previous questions I ever admitted so, or knowledge of any previous committee, so I must refuse this question on the grounds I have already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you a member of the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that I have already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you aware of the existence of a group called the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba, whether or not you are a member of it?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Forer, you have been before this committee many times, and I don't imply anything by it, except to offer this observation: that you have been acting as more than a counsel advising a client today, and have been suggesting answers all along. I would suggest that you desist in that.

Mr. FORER. Well, I don't accept the statement that I have been suggesting answers. I have been advising him of his rights. And I don't think the chairman is in a position to know what I am telling my client.

Mr. WILLIS. Well, the acoustics are good enough for my ears to hear, and it happens that others have observed the same thing.

Proceed.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, Mr. Schlosser, do you recollect the outstanding question? Are you aware of the existence of a group called the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba, whether or not you are a member of it?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I am sorry, gentlemen, I can't help you on that question, either. I am compelled to refuse to answer that question on the grounds that I have already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. The committee, that is, this subcommittee of Congress, has received information that you are in charge of this new organization or successor organization titled "Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba." Are you a person in charge of this organization?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. Again, I must refuse to answer that question on the grounds that I have already stated.

Mr. WILLIS. Of course, you are not compelled to answer, you just refuse to answer.

Mr. SCHLOSSER. Well, it's my conscience that compels me.

Mr. NITTLE. That is not recognized as a sufficient ground for refusing to answer a question.

Mr. WILLIS. Therefore, I order you to.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. In my refusal, I also stated, and I state again, that I refuse to answer that question on the grounds already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. The committee's investigation discloses that an individual named Levi Lee Laub, L-a-u-b, whose last known residence was given as 217 Haven Avenue, New York City, appeared in San Francisco, California, during the week of April 29th of this year. He addressed a meeting there, at which he discussed the purposes of the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba and stated he was a representative of that committee. Do you know Levi Lee Laub?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. If the committee wishes that type of information, I suggest they ask Mr. Laub as to whether he is a member or is not. I myself refuse to answer that question on the grounds I have already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Is he now, or formerly, a student at Columbia University?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Was he a member of your Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. As I have never acknowledged in front of this committee any association with this Ad Hoc Committee, that again involves a presupposition, and I refuse to answer the question asked on the grounds already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Well, it is not a presupposition; the committee's investigation discloses its existence. We are asking you whether or not

this information is true, and what connections you may have with it. You refuse to respond to those questions. That's the situation, isn't it?

Mr. WILLIS. Well, proceed. Ask him questions.

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. Schlosser, our investigation reveals that the Permanent Student Committee is planning to organize a student group to visit Cuba during July next, and that an invitation was extended by the Federation of University Students in Havana, Cuba, an organization to which we have already referred, to receive this group. The departure point for the trip to Cuba in July 1963 is to be Toronto, Canada, and all expenses, including air transportation from Toronto to Cuba and return, are to be paid by the Federation of University Students of Cuba. What knowledge do you have of these arrangements?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I think it's extremely generous act on the part of the Cuban students, if they have done this and, in principle, I don't see why an American student group should not do the same.

As to the specific question, I refuse to answer that on the grounds that I have already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. A publication, titled *Progressive Labor*, of January 1963, Volume 2, No. 1, in an editorial on page 11, titled, "Students To Challenge Ban on Travel to Cuba," in commenting on the refusal of the Canadian Ministry for External Affairs to permit travel to Cuba by the Ad Hoc Student Committee group, declared:

> Spokesmen for the student committee immediately announced that the trip was NOT cancelled—only postponed till the Summer. "We will go via another route," the spokesmen—Steve Martinot of Columbia University and Anatol Schlosser of NYU—said, adding that the full plans would be made public soon. Local committees to organize for the Summer trip have been set up at various campuses around the country, including N Y U, C C N Y, Columbia, and the Universities of North Carolina, Wisconsin, and Buffalo.

Would you tell us whether you are correctly quoted in *Progressive Labor*?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that I have already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. The editorial also notes:

> For more information on the Cuban trip, contact the Ad Hoc Student Committee For Travel To Cuba, 42 St. Marks Place, New York 3, N.Y.

That, of course, Mr. Schlosser, is your address, is it not?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I have already stated at the beginning of the inquiry that my address is 42 St. Marks Place.

Mr. NITTLE. Well, is your address the address of the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that I have already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Is it also the address of the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds I have already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Does the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba maintain offices at your home, or elsewhere?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. Again, since I have not acknowledged any association with the committee, I must refuse to answer that question on the grounds that I have already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Does the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba maintain its records of membership and its business at your address?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Schlosser, it has also come to our attention that there is in existence a group known as the Permanent Committee for Travel to Cuba. At page 11 of the pro-Communist *National Guardian* of February 21, 1963, the following announcement appears:

FIESTA—ALL WELCOME
DANCE TO LIVE MUSIC

Sat., Feb. 23, 8:30 p.m., 325 W. 93 St., Apt. 23. Contribution 99c., Auspices: Permanent Comm. for Travel to Cuba.

Can you tell us whether the Permanent Committee for Travel to Cuba is the same organization as the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that I have already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Are the two organizations controlled by the same persons, or in any way affiliated with each other?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. Again, since I have not previously acknowledged any existence of these organizations, I must refuse to answer that question on the grounds I have already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Is it the purpose of the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba to recruit and organize American students for travel to Cuba in July 1963, with or without passports validated for such travel?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that I have already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Has the Ad Hoc or the Permanent Student Committee been in contact with any representatives of the Cuban United Nations mission relative to its proposed Cuban travel plans?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds I have already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you have knowledge of that fact?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds I have already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, if you did not have such knowledge, how could that possibly incriminate you?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer on the same grounds that I have already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Has either the Ad Hoc or Permanent Student Committee been in contact with any representatives of the Czechoslovakian Embassy, which has been handling Cuban interests in the United States since the severance of diplomatic relations between the United States and Cuba?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I must refuse to answer that question on the grounds I have already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you have knowledge of this fact?

Mr. SCHLOSSER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that I have already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions.

Mr. WILLIS. The witness is excused.

Mr. NITTLE. Stefan Martinot.

Mr. MARTINOT. Excuse me, but my attorney has not yet arrived, and I wish we could wait for him.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you expect him?

Mr. MARTINOT. Yes, very shortly.

Mr. WILLIS. The committee will stand in recess for a few minutes.

(Short recess.)

Mr. WILLIS. Please raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MARTINOT. Yes.

TESTIMONY OF STEFAN MARTINOT, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, LAWRENCE SPEISER

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state your full name, spelling it as well, and your residence for the record, please?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. My name is Stefan Martinot, S-t-e-f-a-n, M-a-r-t-i-n-o-t, and my address is 414 West 121st Street, New York 27, New York.

Mr. NITTLE. You are also known as Steve, S-t-e-v-e, Martin; are you not?

Mr. MARTINOT. No. Steve Martinot, M-a-r-t-i-n-o-t.

Mr. NITTLE. You are known as either Stefan and/or Steve Martinot.

Mr. MARTINOT. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. MARTINOT. I am.

Mr. NITTLE. Would counsel kindly identify himself for the record, stating his name and office address?

Mr. SPEISER. I am Lawrence Speiser, and my address is at the American Civil Liberties Union, 1101 Vermont Avenue, NW., Washington, D.C.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Martinot, have you either used or been known by any name other than Stefan or Steve Martinot?

Mr. MARTINOT. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state the date and place of your birth?

Mr. MARTINOT. September 25, 1939, New York City.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you relate the extent of your formal education, giving us the dates and places of attendance, and any degrees received at educational institutions?

Mr. MARTINOT. Grade school and seventh and eighth grade, I went to Elizabeth Irvin.

Mr. NITTLE. Elizabeth Irvin what?

Mr. MARTINOT. Elizabeth Irwin High School.

Mr. NITTLE. Irvin or Irwin, did you say?
Mr. MARTINOT. Irwin.
Mr. NITTLE. I-r-w-i-n?
Mr. MARTINOT. Yes.
Mr. NITTLE. Located where?
Mr. MARTINOT. 40 Charles Street.
Mr. NITTLE. What city?
Mr. MARTINOT. New York City. Up until 1953. High school at Bronx High School of Science, in the Bronx, from '53 to '57; college, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, '57 to '62, where I received a bachelor of arts degree in mathematics.
Then I attended Columbia University graduate faculties, until April 10, 1963.
Mr. JOHANSEN. I wonder if the witness could speak just a little louder, please.
Mr. MARTINOT. All right, sir.
Mr. SPEISER. Does this help?
Mr. NITTLE. What is your present occupation?
Mr. MARTINOT. I am at present working in a machine shop at Center and Broome Streets.
Mr. NITTLE. New York City?
Mr. MARTINOT. In New York City.
Mr. NITTLE. How long have you been employed there?
Mr. MARTINOT. Five weeks.
Mr. NITTLE. What is the nature of your work there?
(Witness conferred with counsel.)
Mr. MARTINOT. I operate a machine.
Mr. NITTLE. Do you have any other employment, whether part-time or otherwise?
Mr. MARTINOT. No.
Mr. WILLIS. Proceed.
Mr. NITTLE. What other employment have you had since you left Columbia University on April 10, 1963?
Mr. MARTINOT. None other.
Mr. NITTLE. Are you presently in possession of a United States passport?
Mr. MARTINOT. Yes.
Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Martinot, committee investigation reveals that you have held a United States passport since the year 1958 and that you last applied for its renewal on October 22, 1962, at New York City. Based on this application, you received a passport on October 23, 1962, numbered C–719424. Is this information correct?
(At this point Mr. Bruce entered the hearing room.)
Mr. MARTINOT. I really forget the number of the passport and the date upon which I received it.
Mr. NITTLE. Otherwise, you would agree with the information that has been stated?
Mr. MARTINOT. To the best of my memory, I can neither agree nor deny.
Mr. NITTLE. Well, did you apply for a passport sometime last year?
Mr. MARTINOT. Yes, I did.
Mr. NITTLE. Yes. Prior to Christmas?
Mr. MARTINOT. Right.
Mr. NITTLE. Of 1962?

Mr. MARTINOT. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. In your application of October 22, 1962, it appears that you stated your occupation to be that of a student and that the application was for the purpose of traveling to France to study. Do you recollect those statements in your application?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. Yes, to the best of my recollection, that's correct.

Mr. NITTLE. At the time you filed that application, were you then already enrolled for study at a university in the United States?

Mr. MARTINOT. At that time, I was enrolled in Columbia University graduate faculties.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you traveled to France since you made application on October 22, 1962, for a passport, in which you stated you intended to travel there?

Mr. MARTINOT. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you on the date of your application, in which you set forth your intention to go to France, also have in mind applying later for a validation for travel to Cuba?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. I would like to challenge the jurisdiction of this committee to ask me questions on my application and use of passports as being investigation into my personal activities, which is beyond the jurisdiction of this committee, and I would like to challenge the applicability of this information to any legislative purpose by this committee.

(At this point Mr. Willis left the hearing room.)

Mr. NITTLE. You received, did you not, Mr. Martinot, a copy of the chairman's statement?

Mr. MARTINOT. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. You have read it?

Mr. MARTINOT. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Talked to your attorney about it?

Mr. MARTINOT. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. You understand it?

Mr. MARTINOT. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. I can only say, Mr. Chairman, that the pertinency of the questions would seem to be indisputable, appears with indisputable clarity in your statement. I don't think further explanation is required.

Mr. JOHANSEN (presiding). There is no further explanation required, and I request that counsel repeat the question.

Mr. NITTLE. So that it may be accurately repeated, Mr. Chairman, I will request the reporter to read it back to the witness.

(The question was read by the reporter as follows:

Did you on the date of your application, in which you set forth your intention to go to France, also have in mind applying later for a validation for travel to Cuba?)

Mr. JOHANSEN. I direct the witness to answer the question.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. I would like to repeat that I challenge the jurisdiction of this committee in asking me questions about this, that the legislative purpose under which the committee is holding these hearings is in violation of the Constitution, asking me questions on this

is in violation of the first amendment, my right of association, my personal liberties; however, in view of the directive of the chairman, I will answer the question. Yes, I did have the intention of applying for this permission to go to Cuba at the time I got the passport.

Mr. NITTLE. Why did you not mention that fact in your initial application?

Mr. MARTINOT. It was not essential that I stated all my purposes in the application when I applied for the passport.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you have any intention of travel to France at the time you made application?

Mr. MARTINOT. Certainly.

Mr. NITTLE. What was your answer?

Mr. MARTINOT. Certainly.

Mr. NITTLE. In fact, 10 days after receiving your passport, you applied to the Passport Division, Department of State, Washington, D.C., for a validation of the passport for travel to Cuba; did you not?

Mr. MARTINOT. I applied after receiving the passport for validation of my passport for travel to Cuba. I forget the date.

Mr. NITTLE. Yes. A letter dated November 2, 1962, was addressed to the Passport Division, Department of State, Washington, D.C., under the signature of Stefan Martinot, 360 First Ave., New York 10, N.Y., a copy of which I shall read into the record:

> Dear Sirs:
>
> I hereby request that you validate my passport for a trip to Cuba over the forthcoming Christmas vacation. I am a student and would like to see and evaluate for myself what is happening in Cuba. I am fully cognizant of the present state of relations between the United States and Cuba, but trust that my [sic] the end of December the tension may have subsided sufficiently to permit a more objective view of the situation.
>
> I would appreciate it if you would notify the New York passport office of my request, and advise me as to when I may bring my passport there to be so validated.
>
> Thank you very much.
>
> /s/ Stefan Martinot.

Is that your recollection of the letter you sent?

Mr. MARTINOT. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Now in reply, a letter dated November 16, 1962, from Mr. John A. Mang, Chief, Domestic Operations Division, Passport Office, was addressed to you as follows:

> Dear Mr. Martinot:
>
> Reference is made to your recent letter requesting permission to travel to Cuba. Exceptions to the general policy of limiting travel by United States citizens are made only in cases of extreme emergency requiring the immediate presence of the applicant in Cuba. It is not considered that your request comes within the criteria.
>
> It is regretted that a more favorable reply cannot be made to your request.

Did you receive the original of that letter?

Mr. MARTINOT. I did.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Martinot, from whom did you receive advice that in your initial application for renewal of passport, you should not include an application for travel to Cuba?

Mr. MARTINOT. No one.

Mr. NITTLE. You did that on your own initiative?

Mr. MARTINOT. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you talk to anybody about it?

Mr. MARTINOT. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Martinot, press reports have identified you as a spokesman for the group or organization known as the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba, to which we have already referred in the interrogation of prior witnesses.

Are you a spokesman of that group?

Mr. MARTINOT. Would you repeat the question, please?

Mr. NITTLE. Are you a spokesman for a group known as the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba?

Mr. MARTINOT. At the present time, there is no such committee known as the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba. This committee existed from October 14 up until the end of December.

Mr. NITTLE. Of last year?

Mr. MARTINOT. 1962.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask the witness how he knows the exact dates of the existence, of the beginning and ending of this committee?

Mr. MARTINOT. Yes. On October 14, a group of students from New York City universities and colleges met and were discussing the the present situation, vis-a-vis Cuba-United States, and the situation within Cuba.

Mr. BRUCE. May I interject there just briefly to say are you giving us an eyewitness——

Mr. MARTINOT. I am giving you an answer to your question.

Mr. BRUCE. Well, I want to put it in perspective.

Is this an eyewitness answer as a part of that meeting?

Mr. MARTINOT. I was at that meeting.

Mr. BRUCE. All right, thank you. Go ahead.

Mr. MARTINOT. Certain press reports were brought out about Cuba and they were found to be contradictory. It was thought that as students, that it behooved us to achieve a better understanding of what was happening in Cuba in the face of these contradictory reports and that on this—on these grounds, we decided that it was our responsibility as students in the United States and as citizens to attempt to form as objective and as complete an opinion as we could of the Cuban situation. And hence, decided to make a trip down to Cuba to see and evaluate the situation for ourselves.

Mr. BRUCE. Well, pursuing that a bit further, what was the date you said that the committee, in effect, disbanded? I believe you gave it earlier.

Mr. MARTINOT. It——

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. The question is incorrect.

The Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba was not disbanded, it was changed to the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba.

Mr. BRUCE. Were you present at the time of the meeting that changed this?

Mr. JOHANSEN. And what was that date?

Mr. MARTINOT. I forget the exact date.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Approximately?

Mr. MARTINOT. It was at the end of December.

Mr. BRUCE. In 1962?

Mr. MARTINOT. 1962.

Mr. NITTLE. Now where was this meeting of the organization held? (Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. The meeting was held in New York City.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the address?

Mr. MARTINOT. I would not answer that question, for the following reasons:

The address involved is the address of an individual, and I will not answer any questions before this committee with any individuals other than myself for the following reasons:

The history of this committee has shown it to be a committee for the purpose of exposing for exposure's sake, irrespective of any legislative purpose which the committee may at any time have been involved in or is involved in.

Secondly, that the names have no relevance to any legislative purpose, because any legislation on these would be legislation in violation of the first amendment, and therefore the mandate of this committee does not give it the permission or the ability to ask questions into these individuals; and

Third, that such a question would be in violation of the due process clause of the fifth amendment; and

Fourth, that such questions as to individuals and addresses connected with them would, in effect, put me into the position of being an informer on these individuals, and this I will not do.

I disdain to hide my views and my activities from the public eye, but I will not in any way be an informer on associates, friends, or acquaintances.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Chairman——

Mr. MARTINOT. I fully recognize what possible consequences this line may take, but I will risk this, rather than to soil my honor or my conscience in speaking about individuals other than myself.

This committee has already shown that it holds the possibility of an indictment and conviction for contempt of Congress over those people who do not answer questions about acquaintances, friends, or associates.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Chairman——

Mr. MARTINOT. This is tantamount to some kind of coercion on the part of the witnesses called before this committee, which is an act which one finds in most totalitarian states, but which is most unworthy of any governmental institution in a democracy.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Chairman, as a point of clarification from my standpoint—of all of the words used by the witness in reply to this question, the one phrase that is applicable here would be the invoking of the privileges of the fifth amendment. Am I correct?

Mr. JOHANSEN. That is correct.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Martinot, you have earlier testified that you were present at the organizing meeting and then the meeting that formed it into a permanent committee. I am sure you have been advised by your attorney of exactly what the fifth amendment is and what it covers. Having testified as to your presence at this meeting, and further having testified—and we assume it was honest testimony—the purpose of the meeting to be organizing an objective study, a means

of getting out what you considered objective reports and views on Cuba, surely, Mr. Martinot, the fifth amendment against self-incrimination or prosecution would not apply there, would it?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. I have already stated my reasons for refusing to answer the question, and the record of my testimony speaks for itself, and I do not have to say anything else in that regard.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Chairman, I will observe that the witness opened this line of questioning by his statement that he was present at the meeting, by stating what, he would have us believe, would be the objectives of the meeting. Therefore, I request that the witness be ordered to answer.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I direct and order the witness to answer the question.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that I previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, may I state to the witness that he has seen fit to respond to questions that were of a self-serving nature to this organization and the moment the committee endeavors to probe the actual situation, he now refuses to testify, claiming certain privileges other than the self-incrimination clause of the fifth amendment.

(At this point Mr. Willis returned to the hearing room.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I request the committee recess for 5 minutes.

Mr. WILLIS. The committee will stand in recess for 5 minutes.

(A short recess was taken. Members present after recess: Representatives Willis, Johansen, and Bruce.)

Mr. WILLIS. The hearing will be in order.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Martinot, you are aware that the committee is mandated by the Congress to investigate Communist propaganda activities within the United States, whether of a domestic or a foreign origin?

That mandate is established by House Resolution 5 of the 88th Congress and also by the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. The committee's authorizing resolution is, in turn, based upon the Constitution of the United States, which authorizes the Congress to make its own rules for the disposition of its business. The Supreme Court has repeatedly said that the House Committee on Un-American Activities is constitutionally authorized and that it has jurisdiction to make these inquiries pursuant to its legislative mandate.

You have already told us that you have received a copy of the chairman's statement of May 6, 1963, which sets forth the subjects of the inquiry in this hearing, its legislative purposes; and it is pointed out to you again that the resolution authorizing this hearing is for the purpose of investigating Communist propaganda activities in the United States conducted in support of the Communist regime in Cuba; the activities of United States citizens acting on behalf of, or in the interest of, foreign Communist principals; and foreign travel undertaken by United States citizens in connection with such activities.

The committee has reason to believe, based upon its investigation to date, that this organization for which you appear to be a spokesman and a leader—the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba—is

Communist-influenced and, indeed, that you yourself are a member of a Communist splinter group organization.

You have seen fit to testify to the objectives and purposes of the organization, and the committee now desires to determine whether the situation is as you state it to be, or as the facts seem to indicate, based upon the investigation. We have information that this committee, for which you are a spokesman and organizer, has been active on behalf of, and in the interest of, the Communist regime in Cuba; that it is engaged in Communist propaganda activities; and that it was established to conduct foreign travel by United States citizens in violation of the travel laws and regulations.

The Supreme Court has said that it is the duty of a responsible citizen to testify in a lawful inquiry in response to relevant and material inquiries. The question which has been posed to you is obviously material and relevant. We have no other source of information as to what occurred at this meeting—which was its organizational meeting—to ascertain the degree of Communist influence in its organization, except by the testimony of those who were present at it. You were present at it. You have so testified. The committee deems this information to be of importance to it, and for that reason I again ask the chairman to direct you to answer the question which has been posed. I shall pose the question again to you.

You have testified that you were present at the organizing meeting of the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba on October 14, 1962. Is that correct?

Mr. MARTINOT. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. We desire to know where that meeting took place.

Mr. MARTINOT. I have stated that the meeting took place in New York. Any further detail on this question is not only irrelevant to the legislative purposes of this committee, but I refuse to answer it for the reasons which I have previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. You do not include then in those reasons the self-incrimination——

Mr. WILLIS. Wait a moment. Where was that meeting held? You said it was held in New York.

Mr. MARTINOT. New York City, yes, that is correct.

Mr. WILLIS. Where in New York?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. Mr. Chairman, you were not here at the time, but I gave an explanation as to why I would not answer that question. It is now in the record.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the reporter read the answer of the witness into the record again.

Mr. WILLIS. I am asking, Where was the meeting held?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. I will not answer that question for the reasons previously stated.

Mr. WILLIS. And what are those reasons?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. I ask you to refer to them in the record and have the recorder read them back. I stand on those reasons.

Mr. WILLIS. That will be done. But in the meantime do you—do I understand you to know where the meeting was held, but for the

reasons indicated, you refuse to divulge the place? Is that the situation?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the reporter note specifically the presence of the subcommittee members and that a quorum is in attendance.

(The following members were present at this time: Representatives Willis and Johansen of the subcommittee, and also Bruce.)

Mr. MARTINOT. I would like to state that at the time the question was first posed, a quorum was not in attendance.

Mr. NITTLE. That may be. However, a quorum has been present upon the delivery of counsel's explanation to you of the purpose of the inquiry and the pertinency of the question, and is present at the time I am posing it to you anew.

Mr. WILLIS. You now refuse to answer the question that has been repeated to you?

Mr. MARTINOT. As to the address of that meeting?

Mr. WILLIS. Pardon?

Mr. MARTINOT. Yes, I refuse to answer that question for the reasons previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. You do not include in those reasons the self-incrimination clause of the fifth amendment, is that clear?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. No, I do not include that in my answer.

Mr. NITTLE. And you do not claim that the question asked you is not pertinent to the inquiry?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. On the contrary, that was the first reason I stated, that such a question is not pertinent.

Mr. WILLIS. That is a question of law and that is a question for the committee to decide. The Chair rules that the purposes of the question, the objects of the meeting, his familiarity with the opening statement, the court cases involved all rest clearly in the record at this time, as just stated within the last 2 or 3 minutes by counsel. The question is a pertinent one. The witness has refused to answer that question on grounds that the Chair and the committee do not recognize as valid reasons for refusal. He has not invoked the privileges of the fifth amendment; and therefore since the question is pertinent and proper, within the jurisdiction of this committee and the purposes of this hearing, I now direct you to answer the question.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. I again refuse to answer the question on the grounds previously stated. I recognize the committee has the ability to make its own rules and Congress has the ability to make its own rules for the conduct of this committee. But it can only make rules insofar as it does not infringe or impair the individual constitutional rights of the individuals involved in these hearings. This, in a sense, restricts the ability of this committee to make rules as to its procedure.

Mr. WILLIS. What are the constitutional rights you are invoking?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. I have already spelled them out, Mr. Chairman, in my previous statement.

Mr. WILLIS. You have done that and you have just reiterated that those rights to this do not include an invocation of the privileges accorded to you and everybody else under the fifth amendment. I want to be sure that you were not broadening those rights by an invocation of the privileges of the fifth amendment. I am asking you again: Are you invoking the privileges of the fifth amendment as grounds for refusal to answer the question, and do you want to broaden your refusal to answer to include them?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. I might add, in which case, that would end the matter. On the other hand, if you stand on grounds other than constitutional grounds, to wit, invocation of the fifth amendment, then I would have to order you again to answer the question. Upon your refusal, now being fully aware of your rights, it would be then a matter for you to take the consequences, meaning possible contempt citation. I am trying to advise you all I can now that we have reached this point.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. Mr. Chairman, please repeat the question.

(The record was read.)

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. I have already answered that question.

Mr. WILLIS. Pardon?

Mr. MARTINOT. I have already answered that question.

Mr. WILLIS. Meaning, as far as I am concerned, that you have not answered it.

Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. How many persons were in attendance at the organizing meeting of October 14, 1962?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. Approximately 30 or 35.

Mr. NITTLE. Was Levi Lee Laub in attendance at that meeting?

Mr. MARTINOT. The name you mentioned belongs to an individual; and, therefore, I refuse to answer this question on the grounds and for the reasons previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. The name I have mentioned belongs to an individual whom the committee has reason to believe is a member of the Communist splinter group and is a Communist. It is important for the committee to determine whether Levi Lee Laub was in attendance at that organizing meeting of October 14, 1962.

I therefore ask the chairman for a direction to the witness to answer the question.

Mr. WILLIS. I order you to answer the question.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. I refuse to answer on the grounds I previously stated, and I suggest that if the committee wishes to find out this information they get in touch with the individual involved.

Mr. WILLIS. So that we may proceed, and I understand you to say, and I think it is a fact, that the grounds you are now invoking do not include invocation of the privileges of the fifth amendment; is that correct?

Mr. MARTINOT. I have already answered that question.

Mr. WILLIS. I direct you to answer it.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. I rely upon the answer I have previously given.

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. Was Vincent Theodore Lee present at that meeting?

Mr. MARTINOT. Again I refuse to answer this question on the grounds and for the reasons previously stated.

Mr. WILLIS. And it has been established from your own testimony within the last few minutes that those grounds do not include an invocation of the privileges accorded to you under the fifth amendment. Let the record show that.

Proceed.

Mr. NITTLE. You are aware, Mr. Martinot, that the committee's investigation discloses that Vincent Theodore Lee is the national director of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, an organization which we have reason to believe has been in part financed by the Communist regime in Cuba and has received directives from the Cuban United Nations mission; that we are in this investigation, as a subject of inquiry, seeking to determine the activities of United States citizens acting on behalf of foreign Communist principals; that the committee has reason to believe that Vincent Theodore Lee is an agent of the Communist Cuban Government. It is therefore important for the committee to determine whether Mr. Lee was in attendance upon this organizing meeting.

The committee has information which leads it to believe that Vincent Theodore Lee was active in the organization of the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba. We have sought to determine from Mr. Lee personally the degree of his participation in the organization of this group. He has refused to testify, invoking the fifth amendment privilege against self-incrimination. The committee has no other source readily available to it to determine these facts.

Therefore, it is important for us to have the information from you. We ask you again: Was Vincent Theodore Lee present at the organizing meeting of the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba on October 14, 1962, which you testified took place in New York City?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. Again I refuse to answer any question about any particular individual for the grounds and reasons that I have previously stated; and, as far as the constituents of the meeting on October 14 is concerned, I have already stated my testimony that it was composed of students from universities and colleges in New York City.

Mr. WILLIS. Since those grounds do not invoke any privileges or protections under the fifth amendment, I direct you to answer that question.

Mr. MARTINOT. Again I refuse to answer the question on the grounds previously stated and for the reasons I have previously stated.

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Martinot, you recognize that the committee has not accepted your grounds——

Mr. WILLIS. That is obvious. We have gone over that. If it is necessary, I repeat it, reiterate, and state it again. He has been ordered to answer, he has refused to answer. He understands. The implication is a contempt citation, and that is the situation we are in.

Proceed.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Martinot, for a moment we would like to turn to another subsidiary subject pertinent to the committee's investigation.

The *Columbia Spectator* of November 14, 1962, carried an article titled "Marxist-Leninist Organization Formed by Columbia Students," an article with which you are no doubt familiar. I shall read a portion of it into the record as reported by the *Columbia Spectator*: [1]

"We consider ourselves Marxists-Leninists. Whatever name you want to call us—communist, socialist—if it fits, we'll wear it. We defend the communist party's right to exist in the United States, and we're opposed to the sustained campaign against it."

These were statements made yesterday by organizers of the Columbia Progressive Labor Student Club, which held its first organizational meeting Monday night.

The club plans to file a registration petition with the university in order to be recognized as an official student club. Its goal is "work toward establishment of a revolutionary socialist party in the U.S."

"The aim would be for the working class, people who don't have a stake in ownership or management, to seize political control of the state," say the organizers, Levi Laub '63 [Class of '63, I take it] and Steve Martinot, a graduate mathematics student.

"We'd like to involve students with trade union struggles; some students who are now members took part in picket lines during a strike of the Retail Drug and Hospital Workers Local 1199 in January."

You are the Steve Martinot to whom the article refers as one of the two organizers of the Columbia Progressive Labor Student Club, are you not?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. It is the committee's information that the Columbia Progressive Labor Student Club is a student affiliate or branch of an organization called Progressive Labor. Is that not correct, Mr. Martinot?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. Yes, I would say it is an affiliate of the Progressive Labor. However, when the student club was set up at the Columbia University, it was set up to have a large degree of autonomy, if not complete autonomy, and participating in student activities.

Mr. NITTLE. The statement attributed to you in the *Columbia Spectator* of November 14, 1962, and the other facts relating to you and Levi Laub as being organizers of this Columbia Progressive Labor Student Club are correctly reported; are they not?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. As far as I myself am concerned, the facts as reported in the article are substantially correct. I believe there may have been a certain degree of misquoting there, but I don't really recall exactly what we did say at the time.

Mr. NITTLE. What is misquoted, if anything?

Mr. MARTINOT. Would you like me to go into an explanation of it?

Mr. NITTLE. No, I just want to know whether there is any misquote in this article which I have read, the portion which I have read.

Mr. MARTINOT. At the time the article appeared, I remember recognizing a few points; however, I forget them at the present.

Mr. NITTLE. Let me read this to you. Did you say, "We consider ourselves Marxists-Leninists"?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

[1] Article as reprinted in *Progressive Labor*, December 1962, p. 12.

Mr. MARTINOT. If you are going to read the statement phrase by phrase, I said that it is substantially correct. However, there are other things which we said which were not.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Milton Rosen?

Mr. MARTINOT. I refuse to answer that question for all the grounds and reasons previously stated with respect to my attitude toward questions concerning individuals.

Mr. WILLIS. The Chair does not recognize that answer. It is a new subject, a new name, and the privilege of invoking reasons previously stated is one of mutual arrangement to save time. Therefore, I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. MARTINOT. The subject matter under which I raised these reasons and grounds for refusing to answer the question was questioning concerning individuals. This question falls under the same subject heading, and therefore I feel that my grounds and reasons hold.

Mr. WILLIS. And what are the subjects involving individuals? What do you mean by that?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. I explained that I would refuse to answer questions concerning individuals and I stated my grounds and reasons for doing so, that also I would answer any questions concerning my own views and activities.

Mr. WILLIS. And that involves reasons which you believe are justified from your point of view in not speaking about others; is that correct?

Mr. MARTINOT. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. You are not refusing to answer the question because of your privileges under the fifth amendment, correct?

Mr. MARTINOT. I have already answered that question.

Mr. WILLIS. I direct you now to answer the question.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. I stand on the reasons I previously stated.

Mr. WILLIS. Pardon?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. I stand on the reasons I previously stated.

Mr. WILLIS. Are you refusing to answer the question because you apprehend that so to do would be compelling you to testify against yourself, give evidence against yourself, or because of an apprehension that it might subject you to prosecution?

Mr. MARTINOT. I have already stated my reasons for not answering the question, and they are in the record.

Mr. WILLIS. And the reasons which you gave just a few minutes ago from your own lips did not include invocation of the privilege of the fifth amendment. Therefore, I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. MARTINOT. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds and reasons I have previously stated.

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. I would like to pose one question, by the way, to the witness:

You realize, of course, that no court or congressional investigation could function if it were possible for a witness to refuse to testify because he doesn't want to testify about somebody else? You realize

that, don't you? The courts of the United States could not function on the reasons that you assign.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. NITTLE. With that, I will proceed.

It is also the committee's information that the organization called Progressive Labor is a Communist splinter group which was formed on or about January 1962 by Milton Rosen, former labor secretary of the important New York State Communist Party, and Mortimer Scheer, defeated candidate for the Communist Party's National Committee at its last convention in December 1959. Scheer was also the Erie County chairman of the Communist Party in New York State. Both Rosen and Scheer, in the fall of 1962, were expelled from the orthodox or official Communist Party as "neo-Trotskyites," who refused to accept the present united-front tactics of the party, denouncing the Communist Party as revisionist, that is, as too conservative in the revolutionary struggle.

The Progressive Labor is, in brief, a local split in Communist ranks, similar to that on the grander scale between Peking and Moscow today. The committee knows that the Progressive Labor organization, with which you have so openly identified yourself, is composed largely of persons who were expelled from the Communist Party because they advocated a more extreme or radical line than the Communist Party wishes to proclaim today.

Mr. Martinot, the committee has not received any testimony, and is not in possession of any record at the present time, which would identify you as a member of the orthodox Communist Party. However, in light of the situation as I have just expressed it, I think it is reasonable and fair to inquire of you and to ask you whether you would care to tell this committee whether you were a number of the Communist Party prior to joining the Progressive Labor group?

Mr. MARTINOT. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you mean to say by that, you do not care to tell the committee whether you were a member of the orthodox Communist Party prior to becoming a member of the Progressive Labor group?

Mr. MARTINOT. No, I was not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you brought into the Progressive Labor group by Milton Rosen or Mortimer Scheer?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. No.

Mr. NITTLE. By whom were you brought into the Progressive Labor organization?

Mr. MARTINOT. I refuse to answer that question for the grounds and reasons previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you brought into it by a person known to you to be a member of the Communist Party or an expelled member of the Communist Party?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. Will you read the question?

(The question was read by the reporter.)

Mr. MARTINOT. I am answering only questions about myself and I will not answer any question which contains identification about other people.

Mr. NITTLE. The question is not addressed to the identification by name of any specific individual. It is merely asking for an identifica-

tion as to membership in an organization, whether you were brought into the Progressive Labor group by someone who was a member of the Communist Party or who was, on the other hand, an expelled member of the Communist Party.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. Well, I don't know what information you have about any other people and, therefore, I will not answer the question in that it might involve other people, not only myself.

Mr. NITTLE. I ask, Mr. Chairman—I request that the witness be ordered to answer the question.

Mr. WILLIS. I direct you to answer the question because this involves yourself. We did not ask you the name, at least thus far, of anyone in particular. The question is whether, to your knowledge, you were invited or brought into, or solicited to become a member of, this organization by someone known to you to have been a member of the Communist Party or an expelled member of the Communist Party.

Under these circumstances, the question is proper. I direct you to answer it.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. Well, I refuse to answer this question because it is not part of the jurisdiction and not part of the relevancy to the matters at hand before this committee and also for the grounds I have previously stated.

Mr. WILLIS. Let it be noted that those grounds do not involve an invocation of the privileges of the fifth amendment. If the Chair is mistaken about that, of course, the witness is at liberty to correct the Chair.

Mr. NITTLE. Returning again for the moment to the organizing meeting of the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba, which you say took place October 14, 1962, in New York, were there any persons at that meeting known to you as Communists or expelled Communists?

Mr. MARTINOT. Again I refuse to answer that question as it is about individuals other than myself.

Mr. NITTLE. I have not asked you the names of other persons. I have asked you merely whether there were any persons in attendance at that organizing meeting known to you as Communists or expelled Communists?

Mr. MARTINOT. For all the reasons stated above, I refuse to give any information about any individuals other than myself, whether they are identified or not.

Mr. NITTLE. I ask for a direction.

Mr. WILLIS. You have been given a full explanation stated heretofore in the record. The Chair directs the witness to answer that question.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. I refuse to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. We would like to return again to your specific role in the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba. The Progressive Labor organization, to which I have already referred, publishes a monthly magazine entitled *Progressive Labor*, of which the editors are Milton Rosen and Mortimer Scheer, whom I have likewise mentioned.

The "First Anniversary Issue" of *Progressive Labor* of January 1963, Volume 2, Number 1, at page 11, contains an editorial which is en-

titled "Students to Challenge Ban on Travel to Cuba." The editorial opens with a quotation of an extract from the *Harvard Crimson* of December 19, 1962, which is as follows:

> Some forty or seventy-five American students plan to defy a State Department ban on travel to Cuba and spend their Christmas vacations there on a tour financed by the Castro-controlled Cuban Federation of University Students (FEU). If the trip comes off as planned, the Americans could face criminal prosecution on their return * * *.

The editorial, at page 11, then sets forth the facts concerning the refusal of the Canadian Government to grant a landing permit to a Cuban plane which was to carry 75 United States students from Toronto to Havana. Then the editorial states:

> Spokesmen for the student committee immediately announced that the trip was NOT cancelled—only postponed till the Summer. "We will go via another route," the spokesman—Steve Martinot of Columbia University and Anatol Schlosser of NYU—said, adding that the full plans would be made public soon. Local committees to organize for the Summer trip have been set up at various campuses around the country, including NYU, CCNY, Columbia, and the Universities of North Carolina, Wisconsin, and Buffalo.

Mr. Martinot, at the time these statements were attributed to you by *Progressive Labor*, did you have knowledge of the warning issued by the State Department in its press release of December 13, 1962, which I have already read into the record in the interrogation of Mr. Schlosser?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. NITTLE. Do you desire a copy of that press release?

Mr. MARTINOT. No, that is all right.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. Yes, I do acknowledge.

Mr. NITTLE. I said did you have knowledge at the time?

Mr. MARTINOT. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. That is, at the time these statements were attributed to you.

Now, let me ask you further whether *Progressive Labor* has correctly reported your statements as I have quoted from the editorial?

Mr. MARTINOT. The only incorrect thing in the *Progressive Labor* article is the quote from the *Harvard Crimson*. They incorrectly describe our activities as being those of defying the travel ban.

Our position has always been, and we have stated this publicly and openly and even in a press release issued December 15th, after the press release issued by the State Department, that the ban has no legality and has no base in the Constitution.

It is, in fact, unconstitutional. It is destructive or at least harmful of the democratic process in the formulation of good foreign policy by this country.

Mr. WILLIS. Is that all?

Mr. MARTINOT. That is all.

Mr. NITTLE. The Supreme Court has always said that these questions are to be tested in the courts, that you are not openly to defy and evade the law. Is it not clear to you? Or did you feel you had this right to go to a country with which the United States had severed diplomatic relations, a country which by many hostile acts has declared itself the enemy of our free form of government? Is it something that you should have considered?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. As any lawyer would know, one way of testing the law is to actually bring it to court by some act. This is, in fact, the way most of the segregation laws of this country have been tested, by some act which has brought them into the courts and brought about a ruling on them. This is the way the constitutionality of most acts is tested.

In addition, I would like to say that I agree with the committee in that these regulations concerned about citizens' travel to Cuba do not hold that citizens who go to Cuba through other countries in this hemisphere, as stated in the release——

Mr. WILLIS. These regulations do not do what?

Mr. MARTINOT. The regulations now proclaimed by the President require no passport for travel in the areas of North, Central, or South America, with the exception of Cuba. However, although travel to North, Central, and South America excluding Cuba generally requires no passport, this does not apply to United States citizens who travel to Cuba via countries in this hemisphere, or any country to which no passport is required.

That is in the statement of the chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. What page?

Mr. MARTINOT. Page 3.

Mr. NITTLE. We are talking about Cuba, not travel to other areas. Were you not advised by——

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. It says right here that this does not apply to U.S. citizens who travel to Cuba.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you mean to say, Mr. Martinot, that some attorney advised you to defy this law and travel to Cuba in order to test it?

Mr. MARTINOT. No.

Mr. NITTLE. As a matter of fact, did you consult any attorney about rights of travel to Cuba as a means of testing that law?

Mr. MARTINOT. We made an investigation into the legality of what we were doing.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you not advised that you could apply to the courts of the United States for the issuance of a passport without subjecting yourself to a criminal prosecution by deliberately evading the law?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. This is another way of doing it. The question at hand here is the travel to Cuba and not the passport.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, as a matter of fact, Mr. Martinot, I want to ask you this question:

Is it not a fact that your purpose of traveling to Cuba in defiance of the law was a response to your Communist ideology and to instructions by Communists to do it just that way, as an expression of Communist class struggle?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. No, but——

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. But that is a loaded question, in that it again reiterates that we were acting in defiance of the travel ban, the legality of which we have never recognized; and it therefore is not a valid question. The committee actually agrees with this by the statement it has put into this press release.

Mr. WILLIS. Let me see if I get your point. Are you referring to paragraph 2 on page 3 of my opening statement?

Mr. MARTINOT. No, paragraph 3.

Mr. WILLIS. This paragraph, paragraph 3, on page 3, reads as follows:

> The regulations now proclaimed by the President require no passport for travel in the areas of North, Central, or South America, with the exception of Cuba. However, although travel to North, Central, or South America (excluding Cuba) generally requires no passport, this does not apply to U.S. citizens who travel to Cuba via countries of this hemisphere or any country for which a passport is required.

What is your point about that paragraph that you have made?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. Namely, that this paragraph is susceptible to the interpretation that if you travel to Cuba via other countries, travel into Cuba would not require a passport.

Mr. WILLIS. Well, of course, that is faulty reading of it. I wanted to be sure that I understood you. That is not the meaning of it at all. I think the paragraph on its face is very clear.

Proceed.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Martinot, the editorial from which I just read in *Progressive Labor* stated that local committees to organize for the summer trip had been set up at various universities.

Did you play any role in organizing student groups, to which reference was made, at City College of New York, New York University, Columbia, and the Universities of North Carolina, Wisconsin, and Buffalo?

Mr. MARTINOT. I am sorry. This is incorrect. Committees have not been set up on these campuses.

Mr. NITTLE. Has organizing activity been conducted at any of those campuses, whether or not committees have been set up?

Mr. MARTINOT. Knowledge of our trip was made public, as well as the purposes for making the trip. It was known to students over the entire country, and any students who were interested in going on the trip were invited to contact us and join it.

Mr. NITTLE. Did not your committee, your Ad Hoc Student Committee, send Levi Laub all over the West to organize students for this trip? Did you not send Levi Laub out to San Francisco State College, to Stanford University, the University of California for this very purpose?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. You are asking me a question about an individual. Again I refuse to answer the question.

Mr. NITTLE. I ask that the witness be directed to answer the question.

Mr. WILLIS. I think the question is whether you, meaning you personally, or the organization of which you are a member, as a member of the organization with some authority, did send this individual to the West Coast for the purpose stated. So, it does not involve a third party.

Mr. MARTINOT. The question does not involve myself personally. I am a spokesman for the committee.

Mr. WILLIS. You are a spokesman?

Mr. MARTINOT. Yes. That is my job.

Mr. NITTLE. We are asking him to speak now, Mr. Chairman, but he seems reluctant to do so.

Mr. WILLIS. As a spokesman for the committee, did you send the individual named to the West, the places stated, and for the purpose indicated, namely, to recruit students to travel to Cuba? Did you do that personally? That is the question.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. That question does involve information about another individual. Therefore, I refuse to answer it. If you ask about my activities in general or in the abstract or just by themselves, I will answer the question.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you travel west, or any other place in the country, to universities or other institutions or other places or other groups, for the purpose of recruiting students to go to Cuba under the auspices of your organization, for which you are spokesman, and for the purposes we have been talking about?

Mr. MARTINOT. I did not.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Have you had, yourself, communications with students on other campuses, in other universities, who had, by communication with you or your organization, indicated their interest in joining such a trip?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. Yes.

Mr. JOHANSEN. How many such communications have you had?

Mr. MARTINOT. I don't remember. Not many.

Mr. JOHNSEN. Well, I mean 1, 6, a dozen, 100?

Mr. MARTINOT. Maybe 6 or a dozen.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you personally appeared on campuses of New York University, the City College of New York, or Columbia University to enlist or encourage individuals to take part in this project of the Ad Hoc Student Committee?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. Well, as I used to be a member of, and enrolled in, Columbia University, I would appear on that campus. It was on that campus that I did speak to people about the trip, explained to them the purposes why we were going, and explained to them our views on the matter.

Mr. WILLIS. What were those purposes?

Mr. MARTINOT. The purposes of the trip to Cuba were to see and evaluate Cuba for ourselves. We have stated that openly many times. We feel that, in order for the American people to form a better opinion of the Cuban situation, they should and indeed must be allowed to see Cuba for themselves, see it as it really is, and for that purpose they must be allowed to travel there. This is our position.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you deliver a lecture or make a talk to a group of six, or more or less, expressing the view that you are now stating?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. Or was it an individual contact from person to person? There is no trick in this question. I just want to know the facts.

Mr. MARTINOT. No, I did not speak to any groups. It was on the basis of individual contacts, individual conversations.

Mr. WILLIS. In explaining the purposes, you also solicited or urged some students to go to Cuba?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. No, my activities were involved in explaining the purpose, and I would ask people if they were interested in going. If that is considered soliciting, I really don't know, but this is what I was doing.

Mr. WILLIS. When you made those contacts and explained the purposes you have stated and asked them whether they would be interested in going, did the conversation involve also a discussion as to whether going would be within the law and regulations as written or not?

Mr. MARTINOT. In explaining to anybody the trip and the purposes of the trip, I always was very careful to make sure that they understood the possible consequences, that they were acquainted with the press release issued by the State Department, and that they were well acquainted with the legal aspects of the situation as we understood them and as we had studied them.

Mr. WILLIS. In other words, you openly and frankly explained to them that on the face of it, on the statute books, there was a law and based on that law there was a regulation prohibiting travel without a passport, or a validated passport, but that you did not recognize the validity of that law and that regulation?

Is that in substance what it was?

Mr. MARTINOT. In substance. We disagreed with the ability of the State Department to issue a ban on American citizens to travel anywhere in the world. This was the position of the committee.

Mr. WILLIS. And you told them your position was that, according to your notions of constitutional law, they had the right to go in defiance of the statute and the existing regulations, meaning that you did not recognize it, that is, the law, and did not recognize the regulations on the books, and you explained to them that they must realize the consequences and that, so far as you were concerned, you would urge people to go under that situation?

Mr. MARTINOT. No, I at no time put it in those terms. I explained to them what our position and our purposes in making the trip were. I explained to them what our views of the legality and the constitutionality of the travel ban were; and we allowed them to make up their own minds as to what they considered their rights to be.

Mr. JOHANSEN. What was the nature or character of the assurances that you could give these students that by their visit to Cuba they would be able to make an objective evaluation of what was transpiring?

Mr. MARTINOT. The purpose of the trip was to attempt to make an objective evaluation of Cuba. Any intelligent person who makes such a trip would be able to understand whether he is being given the opportunity, or at any given time whether he is making an objective analysis or coming to any understanding of a situation.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Let me be specific.

Did you have arrangements or contacts within Cuba which enabled you to assure them that they would have access to information from the horse's mouth, so to speak?

Mr. MARTINOT. The entire trip was at our initiative.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Pardon?

Mr. MARTINOT. The entire trip was at our initiative.

Mr. JOHANSEN. That does not respond to my question, I do not think.

Did you have contacts, prearranged contacts, or arrangements with the officials of the Cuban regime which you could offer as an assurance that they would have access to information enabling them to make an objective evaluation?

Mr. MARTINOT. We had no contacts with any individuals in the Cuban regime at all. All our contacts with Cuba revolved around an invitation extended to us graciously by the Cuban Federation of University Students, an organization of 30 or 40 years' standing in the universities of Cuba. They extended us the invitation and the rest was up to us.

Mr. JOHANSEN. That was the extent of the contact that you had?

Mr. MARTINOT. That was it.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you have any information, personally, as to whether or not the present regime in Cuba would permit people from Cuba, nationals of Cuba, to travel at will in the United States, as you say the United States citizens should have the right to go to Cuba?

Mr. MARTINOT. I have no information on this.

Mr. WILLIS. I think you would recognize, would you not, that Cuban citizens cannot freely and of their own volition simply pick up and leave Cuba and come to the United States. You would have knowledge of that, would you not?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. Well, if this is true, I would have to disagree with this, and I feel that any individual anywhere in the world should have the right to travel anywhere he chooses.

Mr. WILLIS. You would assume they would have that right?

Mr. MARTINOT. No, I feel that any individual anywhere in the world should have that right.

Mr. WILLIS. And that no government has the right, after officially breaking diplomatic relations with another government, to have any system of control of its nationals in travel to that country?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. You say no such rights exist under international law, is that your position, or should exist?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. It is common knowledge that passports have not always existed and that they were instituted fairly recently, I would say 40 or 50 years ago, solely for identification purposes.

Diplomatic relations between nations are agreements between governments and should in no way infringe on the rights of individuals to travel. For instance, when the United States broke diplomatic relations with Cuba on January 3, 1961, I feel that this should in no way have infringed on a citizen of the United States' right to travel in Cuba if he was willing to waive whatever protection had been given him by the existence of diplomatic relations between the United States and Cuba.

Mr. WILLIS. Now, coming back to your discussions with students on university campuses about going to Cuba on the invitation of the student group in Cuba, I take it that these discussions and the explanations you have given were given to all those who would want to go to Cuba, as far as you know?

Mr. MARTINOT. This was the explanation given to anybody we happened to be talking to about the trip.

Mr. WILLIS. And do you feel that the 80-odd students who tried to go during the Christmas holidays of 1962 were well aware of the existence of the law of the United States and of the regulation to the effect that travel to Cuba was prohibited, except upon the obtaining of a passport, a validated passport?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. Yes. Every student who was involved in the attempt to go to Cuba over Christmas fully understood this.

The committee required that any student who was going to make a trip write a letter to the committee stating that they understood what the laws were that were on the books, what the statements were, and that they understood fully the possible consequences of their act.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you know the gist of that letter that they were required to give?

Mr. MARTINOT. It wasn't a single letter. Each individual wrote an individual letter to the committee stating in their own words that they understood.

Mr. WILLIS. What was the general purport of the letters? You have seen them. Generally what did those letters say? I am not asking you to be accurate, unless you want to produce a copy, which you probably do not have with you. If you could, it would be the best evidence. But as best as you can recall, what did the letters from those students addressed to the committee, indicating their awareness of the situation say, generally?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. The letters, in general, stated in the individual's own words, his purpose for going to Cuba, his awareness of the legality, and the character of relations that existed between the United States and Cuba, his awareness of the consequences of the act. And if the committee would desire one in evidence, I could produce a letter. However, it would be after clipping off the name and any evidence that might identify the person.

Mr. WILLIS. What was the average age, would you say, of these 80 students? That is a hard question and I do not want to pin you down, but generally.

Mr. MARTINOT. They were of college age.

Mr. WILLIS. Usually below 21 years of age, would you say?

Mr. MARTINOT. I don't recall if there were any individuals involved in the trip who were below the age of 21. I don't think so.

Mr. WILLIS. And do you recall whether it was a policy of your committee, besides having a letter from the student, to also have consent or a letter from the parents of the students? I do not know. I am just asking.

Mr. MARTINOT. This would be required if the individual was under the age of 21, in order to obtain passports. This is why I think that there were no individuals under the age of 21, because I can't recall any of them required to have such permission.

Mr. WILLIS. So, you would say that by and large the parents would know about the trip and the implications and consequences that might be involved? I am not pressing you for anything you do not honestly know and feel.

Mr. MARTINOT. Any questions of this nature, you see, were left up to the individual, the individual's relations with their parents, et

cetera. It was highly their own. The committee has nothing to say about this.

Mr. WILLIS. And from what, predominantly, universities did these students come?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. Well, we got applications, or at least students, from the New York universities; that is, NYU, Columbia, City College, students from Wisconsin, students from California, students from Buffalo, making up the majority of the students who were going.

Mr. WILLIS. Did your committee have a policy also as to some sort of consent, awareness, or approval of these universities about the proposed travel of these students for the purposes and under the circumstances we have been talking about?

Mr. MARTINOT. Again, the relations between any individual and the university or college in which he was enrolled was entirely in the hands of the individual and had nothing to do with the committee.

Mr. WILLIS. I was talking about committee policy. You did have a committee policy, you said, requiring letters from students.

I am wondering whether you had some kind of policy relating to making the university aware of the trip and asking for approval, disapproval, or comments.

Mr. MARTINOT. No, the universities weren't on the trip. The trip was open knowledge——

Mr. WILLIS. I am talking about your committee policy now.

Mr. MARTINOT. The trip was open knowledge. Anybody could have found out about it if they wanted to. Anybody could express any opinion they wanted to about the trip, and often did. But there was no grounds for having any policy concerning universities in which these students were enrolled.

Mr. WILLIS. I am not implying that there should be grounds. I just wanted to know the facts.

This is my last question: From what you have said, I think the situation is that you—and by you, I mean yourself personally, your committee, of which you were spokesman, and all the students who finally decided to make the trip—were fully aware of the existence of the ban against travel without passports or validated passports and that the trip was proposed to be made despite the existence of the laws and regulations?

Mr. MARTINOT. I think it is fairly evident that any law-abiding citizen of the United States would not make a trip unless they felt, as the other individuals and myself on the committee felt, that the travel ban instituted by the State Department on travel to Cuba was not grounded in law or in the Constitution.

They were fully aware of the statements upon which the travel ban was allegedly based that were in the law books and in the Constitution, and they were fully aware of the consequences, every one of them.

Mr. WILLIS. I am finished now, but I want to say for the record that among the reasons for this hearing is the consideration of whether or not laws on the books as they stand should remain as they are, should be strengthened, or should be made more to the point under existing conditions, because such legislation is pending.

Mr. JOHANSEN. When you knew of the interest of a student in making the trip, and he thereby becomes a prospect for it, did you submit to him, you or the committee, any type of questionnaire to secure basic information about him and his interests?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. No. No questionnaire was ever submitted to anybody.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Was the source of names of prospective students for the trip derived exclusively from response to just the general information that the trip was being projected, or were there sources of names given to you of such prospective joiners in the expedition?

Mr. MARTINOT. No. I, as spokesman, would merely make public, either by speaking to individuals or through other means such as the press releases which have been issued by the committee, that such a trip was planned by students and that anybody who was interested in joining could.

This is the way we got in touch with people who were involved. They contacted us. And they stated an interest in going once they heard about the trip.

Mr. WILLIS. It escapes me whether or not you answered this question, but let me pose it.

Roughly, how many members were there on your committee?

Mr. MARTINOT. A member was anybody who was going to go on the trip. So it varied from time to time.

Mr. WILLIS. I know, but you had a committee. What was the name of it?

Mr. MARTINOT. The Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba.

Mr. WILLIS. We do not want to rehash names. We have been through that. But about how many members composed the committee itself, the Ad Hoc Committee for Travel to Cuba?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. As I stated, anybody who was going to make the trip with the committee was a member of the committee. So the membership varied from the original students at the original meeting, up until the end, when there were some 80-odd.

Mr. WILLIS. That is what I am talking about. What was the original membership that formed this idea? That is what I am talking about.

Mr. MARTINOT. As I said, there were 30 or 35 students at the original meeting.

(At this point Mr. Bruce left the hearing room.)

Mr. WILLIS. And then those who decided to make the trip became members? Is that what you are trying to say?

Mr. MARTINOT. No. Those who decided to make the trip maintained their membership. Those who decided not to, did not.

Mr. WILLIS. You started with 30 or 35, and finally some 80. Is that the correct figure? They decided to go?

Mr. MARTINOT. Some 80-odd. I forget the exact figure.

Mr. WILLIS. And you said that these 80-odd students were from New York universities, a Wisconsin university, and a California university. Any others?

(At this point Mr. Bruce returned to the hearing room.)

Mr. MARTINOT. Yes. Buffalo. There were some from Buffalo. There were some from other colleges in the Midwest, et cetera.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Were there any from Michigan, either the University of Michigan, Michigan State, Wayne State University, Western Michigan University?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. No.

Mr. WILLIS. Would it be accurate to say that you had something that could be referred to as a chapter of active members in these universities performing about the same missionary work that you described you did?

Mr. MARTINOT. No. That would not be correct.

Mr. WILLIS. Pardon?

Mr. MARTINOT. No, that would not be correct. There were no organizers on various campuses. The information of the trip spread most effectively by word of mouth, that is, one person talking to the other and, you know, the old chain reaction of rumors, until eventually it would come to somebody who would actually be interested in making the trip, and they would address the committee, or write, and would then get in touch. But the trip was general knowledge and was spread around quite rapidly by the students themselves.

Mr. WILLIS. It would have to be more than by word of mouth in order for it to be heard from New York to California, would it not?

Mr. MARTINOT. I also include in this from one friend to another, who would explain that he had come across some people who were going to make a trip over for the Christmas vacation.

Mr. WILLIS. And what was the rendezvous from which they would depart? Where did you plan to meet?

Mr. MARTINOT. As we stated in one of our last press conferences or releases, there were two rendezvous. One was New York and the other was Buffalo.

Mr. JOHANSEN. And then where were they to converge, or were they to go from those two points, separately, directly to Cuba?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. As we explained, from Buffalo we would go to Toronto, and from there we would fly to Cuba.

Mr. WILLIS. All right, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. Of the 80-or-so students, would you tell us how many of them you knew to be members of your Progressive Labor group?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds and for the reasons stated above, and I would also like to raise the question of the relevance of any questions about the Progressive Labor in that the topic for the hearings before the committee at present concern Cuba and legislation about Cuba and travel there.

Mr. WILLIS. The statement from which you read, and with which you are obviously very much familiar, being the opening statement, makes this issue perfectly pertinent.

Proceed.

Mr. NITTLE. You asked for a statement of pertinency on this question.

It is rather important, Mr. Martinot, for us to know how many of these students were actually members of Communist organizations of

one sort or another, whether of the orthodox Communist Party or of the Progressive Labor party or of the Trotskyist faction or other varieties of Communists.

It was pointed out by Director John McCone of the Central Intelligence Agency, in his appearance before the House Foreign Affairs Committee as recently as February 19 last, that the Cuban effort at present is far more serious, he said, than the hastily organized and ill-conceived raids that the bearded veterans of the Sierra Maestra led into the Central American countries.

And, he further said, as recorded in the opening statement, that today the Cuban effort is far more sophisticated, more covert, and more deadly. In its professional trade craft, it shows guidance and training by experienced Communist advisers from the Soviet bloc, including veteran Spanish Communists—and we would add American Communists.

Mr. McCone stated that approximately 1,500 persons went to Cuba, were invited there, during the year 1962, from other Latin American countries to receive ideological indoctrination and guerrilla-warfare training.

The committee is interested in determining, Mr. Martinot, particularly in view of your own declarations—that the aim of your organization, the Progressive Labor Student Club, would be for the working class to seize political control of the state—whether your objective is not merely to see what was going on in Cuba, but, rather, to introduce American youth to the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, to indoctrinate them, and to recruit Communists.

We want to know how many of that group of 80 persons included persons known to you to be members of the Communist Party or Communist splinter groups, of which you are one.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. It seems to me that the confusion shown by members of this committee as to, for instance, the Trotskyist and Communist parties is absurd, particularly for anybody who was supposedly involved in a discussion or understanding of the politics in this country and, hence, makes an absurd presupposition into the question, which renders the question, itself absurd.

I have been very open about my own beliefs as far as the students PL Club at Columbia is concerned. This, as I said, had a certain amount of autonomy. I think that this question is irrelevant as far as the purposes stated.

Mr. WILLIS. I direct you to answer the question. I think it is a proper one, and you have not assigned valid grounds for refusing.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. Would the chairman please repeat the question?

(The Reporter read from the record as requested.)

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. I can't say, because the committee never asked any questions as to the political affiliations of any of the members or any of the students who were going to go on the trip.

Mr. NITTLE. I didn't ask whether you asked them for their political affiliations. I asked you how many of this group you knew to your knowledge——

Mr. MARTINOT. I stated I didn't know, because we didn't ask.

Mr. JOHANSEN. You said what?

Mr. MARTINOT. I said I didn't know, because we didn't ask about the political affiliations of the individuals who were going to make the trip.

Mr. WILLIS. You do know, however, about the 30 or 35 who formed this committee. May we assume that they would be included in that question?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. Again, I could not possibly know, as these were students from all over New York, from every New York university, and we did not inquire as to their political affiliations, or, rather, no inquiry was made into their political affiliations.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Martinot, were you informed as to the affiliations of these individuals who composed your group through some other source?

Mr. MARTINOT. Absolutely not.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you furnished with the names of any individuals with whom to conduct correspondence around the country by either Milton Rosen or Mortimer Scheer?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. I didn't initiate any correspondence on this trip. All I did was answer the letter that came to me.

Mr. NITTLE. I did not ask you that. I asked if you were furnished the names of any persons with whom to correspond by either Milton Rosen or Mortimer Scheer. Would you answer that question, please?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. I wasn't furnished names by anybody. I didn't initiate any correspondence.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you visited Mortimer Scheer in Buffalo, New York?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. NITTLE. I will add to that question—in connection with the business of the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba or the Permanent Committee?

Mr. MARTINOT. I have already stated in my testimony that on the business of the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba, I did not leave New York City.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you visit Mr. Scheer in connection with the business of the Permanent Committee?

Mr. MATINOT. Again, in connection with the business of the Permanent Committee, I have not done any traveling.

Mr. NITTLE. I have asked you whether you met Mr. Scheer in Buffalo, New York, in connection with the business of this committee.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. I have answered that question.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you correspond with Mortimer Scheer in Buffalo or any other place?

Mr. MARTINOT. Again you are asking questions into my association with other individuals, and I refuse to answer the question for the reasons and grounds already stated.

Mr. NITTLE. May we take it that you did, in view of the fact that you did answer questions about visiting Mortimer Scheer in Buffalo

and now refuse to testify as to whether you had any correspondence with him on the business of this committee in Buffalo?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. I didn't correspond with anybody in Progressive Labor concerning these trips or the business of these committees.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Martinot, you have a bachelor's degree in mathematics from Antioch College, you attended graduate school at Columbia, and now you are working in a machine shop. Do you perform labor in the machine shop?

Mr. MARTINOT. Yes. I already stated that, that I operate a machine.

Mr. NITTLE. The committee, over the years, has received a good deal of testimony relating to Communist recruiting techniques. The Communists have extensively used a tactic of colonizing industry for the purpose of recruiting members and participating in labor activities in response to the Communist doctrine of class struggle and the advancing of that struggle.

We would like to know whether your present laboring job was embarked upon for the purpose of recruiting labor for the Progressive Labor party in response to the aims which you have expressed as set forth in the *Columbia Spectator*——

Mr. MARTINOT. No.

Mr. NITTLE. —that the aim would be for the "working class" people to seize political control of the state?

Mr. MARTINOT. The answer is no.

I left school on my own initiative and got the job to earn a living.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you ever make application to utilize your skill as a mathematician and your extensive educational training in a capacity other than laboring at a machine in a machine shop?

Mr. MARTINOT. I got this job because I felt like doing physical labor. This was my desire.

Mr. NITTLE. That is your answer?

Mr. MARTINOT. I have had some experience in machine work, and this is how I got the job in the shop.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman, in this statement in the *Columbia Spectator* of November 14, 1962, I read this: "The club"—referring to the Columbia Progressive Labor Student Club—

> plans to file a registration petition with the university in order to be recognized as an official student club. Its goal is "work toward establishment of a revolutionary socialist party in the U.S."

Did the club file such a registration petition with the university?

Mr. MARTINOT. I would like to state that this is confusion in the quote, namely that this was not the stated aim of the students club that was going to file for registration at Columbia University.

I would also like to state that in that semester the Progressive Labor Student Club was not able to get a charter and did not file.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Let me be sure I understand this. You were not able to get a charter?

Mr. MARTINOT. We did not file for one.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Did you at any time file a petition for a charter?

Mr. MARTINOT. A petition for a charter for the Progressive Labor Student Club was filed in March, I believe.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Of last year?
Mr. MARTINOT. Of this year.
Mr. JOHANSEN. Of 1963?
Mr. MARTINOT. That is right.
Mr. JOHANSEN. With whom?
Mr. MARTINOT. Columbia University.
Mr. JOHANSEN. And what action, if any, was taken on that petition?
Mr. MARTINOT. It was okayed, and we began a campus group.
Mr. JOHANSEN. And you are now, therefore, enjoying the status of an official student club. I mean to say this organization now enjoys that status on the campus of Columbia University, is that correct?
Mr. MARTINOT. Yes.
Mr. JOHANSEN. Did the petition, which you state was filed and was granted, state that its role was to work toward establishment of a revolutionary socialist party in the United States?
Mr. MARTINOT. No. That was not the purpose of the Columbia Progressive Labor Student Club.
Mr. JOHANSEN. And this one that you are speaking of is which group?
Mr. MARTINOT. I am speaking of the Columbia Progressive Labor Student Club. That is not the purpose of it. That is the—well, just a minute.
(Witness conferred with counsel.)
Mr. MARTINOT. The application for the charter for the Progressive Labor Student Club merely stated that was a socialist group and that its purpose was to spread socialist ideas on the campus through leaflets and any other activities, and I believe that was all.
Mr. JOHANSEN. It is my understanding that your earlier testimony was that, in substance, this statement was correct with respect—that this statement from the *Columbia Spectator* was substantially accurate in stating the purpose of the Columbia Progressive Labor Student Club.
Mr. MARTINOT. I am sorry if I gave that impression. What I meant was that the statements there are substantially correct as far as the interview of myself was concerned, myself as a member of the Progressive Labor.
Mr. JOHANSEN. Then you are stating now, if I understand it, that this statement in the *Columbia Spectator* was accurate as far as stating your understanding of the purpose of the Columbia Progressive Labor Student Club?
Mr. MARTINOT. No. Explaining my political approach, but in no way reflecting upon the Student Club. This was a misrepresentation given by the article.
Mr. JOHANSEN. You were speaking, then, as one of the organizers of this club in this interview; were you not?
Mr. MARTINOT. That is right. But the purposes of the club were different——
Mr. JOHANSEN. Were you correctly quoted in this statement:

> The aim would be for the working class, people who don't have a stake in ownership or management, to seize political control of the state.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)
Mr. MARTINOT. The interview was of myself; and as far as I myself was concerned, the statements connected with the interview are cor-

rect. I was also involved in organizing the Columbia Progressive Labor Student Club. However, the application for a charter for the Progressive Labor Student Club of Columbia University did not state this, and this was not the purpose of that organization.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Then are you testifying that you misstated, or that you have misunderstood, the purpose of this club when you made this interview, when you gave this interview?

Mr. MARTINOT. What I am saying is that the two were confused by the reporter.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Is it not a fact that if your statement as quoted here, which you say is an accurate quotation, if that statement is correct and if that is the purpose of the Columbia Progressive Labor Student Club, then that club in filing its application, its petition, was guilty of concealment as to its full purpose?

Mr. MARTINOT. No. What was stated on the application for the Progressive Labor Student Club was the purposes agreed to by the students who were involved in setting it up. I openly stated my views in that interview, and they were published in the paper so everybody knew them. There was no concealment here at all.

Mr. JOHANSEN. You are stating then that, in effect, the club, when it finally organized and when it submitted this petition, repudiated your statement as to its purpose?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. They didn't repudiate anything. They just stated their own. The club brought out statements and purposes of its own, not mine.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Their statement at least substantially and radically differed from your statement of the purpose?

Mr. MARTINOT. Yes.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Chairman?

Mr. Martinot, are you familiar with a group known as the Young Socialist Alliance?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. Yes.

Mr. BRUCE. Are you a member of the Young Socialist Alliance?

Mr. MARTINOT. No.

Mr. BRUCE. Is there any connection between the groups that have been mentioned in this hearing since you have been on the stand and the Young Socialist Alliance?

Mr. MARTINOT. No.

Mr. BRUCE. Do you work in concert with them, in harmony with them?

Mr. MARTINOT. No.

Mr. BRUCE. Do you exchange information or direction or plans with them?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. You must remember that the group at Columbia didn't start until March, and I left in the middle of April, so as far as I know, there wasn't any.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Let me interrupt at this point.

You did not start until March of 1963?

Mr. MARTINOT. Yes.

Mr. JOHANSEN. It started then in the sense that is was granted recognition?

Mr. MARTINOT. That is right.

Mr. JOHANSEN. But this statement is dated November 14, 1962, in which there was a reference to the organizers of this club, so that the organizational activity had started well in advance of March 1963; had it not?

Mr. MARTINOT. Yes. We had attempted to form a club at the time that the article was written.

Mr. JOHANSEN. You stated that there was a radical difference between your statement of November 14th in this interview, representing your views as to the aim of this club, and that set forth in the petition for recognition as an official student club. What is that difference?

Mr. MARTINOT. You stated yourself that there was a radical difference.

Mr. JOHANSEN. And you accepted that.

Mr. MARTINOT. There is, in fact, a difference.

The difference is, my views are as stated in the *Spectator*, and the purposes of the Columbia Student Club are as I enumerated—to set up a club with a socialist orientation, primarily dedicated to the spread of socialist ideas.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Am I to construe, therefore, that you were disappointed with what was stated and what apparently you allege is the purpose of this club as set forth in its petition?

Mr. MARTINOT. Don't construe that, because nothing has been said or intimated about my attitude toward it. In fact, I wasn't.

Mr. JOHANSEN. You certainly indicated by an affirmative answer that there was a substantial, radical difference.

Mr. MARTINOT. There was a difference. That does not mean that I was disappointed by it.

Mr. WILLIS. And what is that difference?

Mr. MARTINOT. I just stated. The difference lies in the two different statements, and they are already in the record.

Mr. WILLIS. Can you substantially state the difference in a few words?

Mr. MARTINOT. How do you mean?

Mr. WILLIS. You are talking about the difference between the views that you personally entertain and the views stated in the application for a charter and that those views—at one point the word "radical" was used and at another point "substantial" was used—differed.

I am asking you what are those differences, whether they be "radical" or "substantial."

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. The difference is quite obvious.

One is excerpts from a general political approach, and the other is merely a statement of proposed activities on a student campus.

Mr. WILLIS. And I take it, therefore, that the difference is stated in the fourth paragraph of the quotation from *Columbia Spectator*, namely: "The aim would be"—which represents your view—"for the working class, people who don't have a stake in ownership or management, to seize political control of the state."

Is that the difference we have been talking about all along?

Mr. MARTINOT. That is a statement. I don't see that it is a difference.

Mr. WILLIS. Pardon?

Mr. MARTINOT. That is a statement. I don't see that it is a difference. That is a statement.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Do not quibble. We are comparing this statement with what you testified were the declared purposes of this club as presented in the petition for recognition.

Mr. MARTINOT. Look, this is part of the general political outlook, which includes views concerning the working class of this country, and the other is a statement concerning activities of a group of students on a student campus.

I don't see how the two have anything to do with each other.

Mr. WILLIS. But it is your view that the aims should be for the working class, people who don't have a stake in ownership or management, to seize political control of the state? Those are your views?

Mr. MARTINOT. My views are that, as the working people of this country make up the majority of it and produce all the wealth of this country, that they should have the majority of the political representation in the various levels of Government in this country and that, if they don't, they are being denied their just political representation.

How they get this political representation is another question, and electing workers' representatives to Congress, to State assemblies, to city councils by democratic elections under the present Constitution I would also consider seizing power.

Mr. WILLIS. Pardon?

Mr. MARTINOT. I would also consider seizing of power.

Mr. WILLIS. You say "also." What else would be a seizure of power?

Mr. MARTINOT. One can never tell until it happens. In the various situations throughout history, the various seizures of power from one class to another differ radically.

Mr. NITTLE. But you are a Marxist-Leninist, as you say, and that preaches the revolutionary seizure of power by force and violence, if necessary.

Are you quibbling?

Mr. MARTINOT. No. You are.

Mr. WILLIS. You say in this statement——

Mr. MARTINOT. The transfer of political power from one group to another——

Mr. NITTLE. Are you a Marxist-Leninist?

Mr. MARTINOT. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. So is Castro. That is what he said, that he would be one until he died.

Mr. MARTINOT. What I said, the seizure of power from one class to another could be considered as revolutionary, inasmuch as the politics of that country would then be conducted in the interest of this class rather than in the interest of the other.

Mr. NITTLE. I understand you addressed communications to college campuses upon the subject of the Ad Hoc——

Mr. MARTINOT. I didn't hear the beginning of your question.

Mr. NITTLE. I understand that you addressed communications to college campuses, to students on campuses, in connection with your objective of enlisting students in the Ad Hoc Student Committee? Is that right?

Mr. MARTINOT. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you address any correspondence to college students——

Mr. MARTINOT. As I recall, the only correspondence that we ever mailed out were press releases, which we mailed to city newspapers, radio stations, and college newspapers.

Mr. NITTLE. I understood you to say that in December 1962 the Ad Hoc Student Committee was reorganized into the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba. Is that correct?

Mr. MARTINOT. As long as the travel ban exists on American citizens, restricting their ability to see and evaluate situations in this world for themselves, there are always going to be people who are going to bring this to a test, and this is why——

Mr. NITTLE. I am asking you whether the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba was organized as a successor to the Ad Hoc Committee on or about December 1962? You can answer that "yes" or "no," I believe.

Mr. MARTINOT. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. How many members compose the Permanent Committee as of this time?

Mr. MARTINOT. Again, anybody who is on the original trip and who is dedicated to trying again was a member of the committee.

Mr. NITTLE. I am asking you how many are on it.

Mr. MARTINOT. At the present time?

Mr. NITTLE. As of now.

Mr. MARTINOT. I really couldn't say. It is about 70 or 75.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you have the records of membership of the organization?

Mr. MARTINOT. No, I don't.

Mr. NITTLE. Who maintains them?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. Well, again, this is a question about an individual other than myself, and I refuse to answer on the grounds and for the reasons previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. I ask for a direction, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. I direct the witness to answer that question.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. Again I refuse to answer the question on the grounds and the reasons stated above.

Mr. WILLIS. Would you read the pending question?

(The reporter read from the record as requested.)

Mr. NITTLE. Let me repeat it in this form, Mr. Chairman:

Mr. Martinot, in whose possession are the records of membership of the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba?

Mr. MARTINOT. Again, this is a question of an individual, the identity of an individual other than myself, and I refuse to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you know who has possession of them?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. No, I don't.

Mr. NITTLE. Information has come to our attention that the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba has a target date of July 1963 for leading a group to Cuba without validated passports, if necessary.

How many students or other persons have indicated their intention to travel to Cuba without validated passports in July of 1963?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. There are no definite plans yet made for this summer; and as a result, I do not know how many people will make an attempt to go to Cuba over the summer.

Mr. WILLIS. Then you say, No plans yet made?

Mr. MARTINOT. That is right.

Mr. WILLIS. Have there been discussions about another attempted trip?

Mr. MARTINOT. Yes, there have been discussions; and although no definite plans have been made, I can assure you that as soon as definite plans are made, they will be made public through press releases and anybody can know about them.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you had these discussions with Vincent Theodore Lee?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you have them with Levi Lee Laub?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. I refuse to answer that question as it is about an individual for the above-stated ground and reasons, and I withdraw my answer to the previous question and refuse to answer it also on the above-stated grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you had these discussions with Milton Rosen and Mortimer Scheer?

Mr. MARTINOT. Again, I refuse to answer that question for the above-stated grounds and reasons.

Mr. WILLIS. You said you had discussions and you indicated definite plans probably would come about and that when they are formulated they will be announced. I think it is proper to ask you whom you had the discussions with.

Therefore, I order you to answer the question. I am making a record.

Mr. MARTINOT. The only people party to discussions for proposed trips over this summer are the people who are involved in going, that is, the students who are going to make the trip. They are the only people who are party to these discussions.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Do you mean that you are, therefore, the only organizer of this trip?

Mr. MARTINOT. I am a spokesman for the trip. The organization is taking place by the entire committee, discussions and various things.

Mr. WILLIS. You said the organization is taking place by your committee, which obviously indicates that there are a number of people on that committee.

Mr. MARTINOT. That is the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba.

Mr. WILLIS. And you have had discussions with those people. Who are they?

Mr. MARTINOT. I refuse to divulge the identity of any of my associates for the above-stated grounds and reasons.

Mr. WILLIS. For the reasons previously indicated as to the pertinency and propriety of it, I order you to answer the question. I am making a record.

Mr. MARTINOT. Again, I refuse to name other persons, to speak of the activities of other individuals, for the reasons stated above.

Mr. WILLIS. And what are those reasons?

Mr. MARTINOT. They are in the record.

Mr. WILLIS. And they do not include the invocation of the fifth amendment?

Mr. MARTINOT. I have answered that question.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Are any of the persons who are planning to be participants in this trip non-students?

Mr. MARTINOT. I am.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Are there any others besides you? I am not asking you identity or names.

Are there any others who are not students?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. I don't know.

Mr. NITTLE. Is the office of the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba maintained at 42 St. Marks Place, New York 3, N.Y.?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. This is a question similar to the first question which I refused to answer, and therefore I refuse to answer it again on the same grounds.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I ask, Mr. Chairman, for a direction to the witness to answer the question.

Mr. WILLIS. You are directed to answer the question.

Mr. MARTINOT. I again refuse to answer the question for the above reasons.

Mr. NITTLE. By whom are the expenses of these organizing efforts to enlist students for travel to Cuba borne and from what source do you derive them?

Mr. MARTINOT. Excuse me, would you restate the question, please?

Mr. NITTLE. From what source are the organizing expenses in recruiting these students derived?

Mr. MARTINOT. From a deposit paid by the students themselves to the committee to defray expenses. The deposit is $10.

Mr. WILLIS. Pardon?

Mr. MARTINOT. The deposit is $10.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you receive any assistance from the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Mr. MARTINOT. No.

Mr. NITTLE. By whom are the expenses paid for the recruiting travels of Levi Lee Laub?

Mr. MARTINOT. They are paid for out of the money——

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. I retract that and I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds and reasons.

Mr. NITTLE. On advice of counsel, is that right?

Mr. WILLIS. Let the record show, so it will be clear and with no implication on anyone's part, that counsel whispered to his client to stop answering the question, and he then refused to answer the question.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. NITTLE. By whom were the expenses of travel to Cuba to be borne or supplied?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. Could you please rephrase the question?

Mr. NITTLE. Let me put it this way, and I will withdraw that particular question.

Has the Cuban Government, through the Students Federation of Cuba, subsidized the expenses and operations of your committee?

Mr. MARTINOT. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Has it offered to bear the expenses of the travel of your group to Cuba?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. As no definite plans have yet been made for this summer, this is quite impossible.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you had correspondence with the Federation of University Students of Havana?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. Only insofar as another invitation was extended to the committee to visit Cuba for 1 month over this summer.

Mr. WILLIS. You failed to respond to the question just now on the basis that the plans have not been formulated or completed. I ask you, Did the student group from Cuba agree to make any kind of contribution, any number of dollars, from one up, in connection with the trip that had been planned in the Christmas holidays of 1962?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MARTINOT. The invitation stated that those people who came down to Cuba, either over Christmas or this summer, will be the guests of the Cuban Federation of University Students. That is, that our living expenses, therefore, while in Cuba, would be taken care of by them.

Mr. WILLIS. What would that include? Hotels, meals, travel, what?

Mr. MARTINOT. I imagine room and board and travel facilities. But as far as the Cuban Federation of University Students offering any subsidies to the operation of the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba or the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba, they did not at all.

Mr. WILLIS. Well, of course, "subsidy" is a broad word. I was talking in terms of any kind of contribution.

Mr. MARTINOT. They did not give any contribution to the operation of these committees.

Mr. WILLIS. They did not send any money?

Mr. MARTINOT. That is right.

Mr. WILLIS. That is, from Cuba to the United States?

Mr. MARTINOT. Exactly.

Mr. WILLIS. Now with reference again to the trip of December 1962, which did not materialize, did the students at that time also contribute $10 apiece for organizational work, such as you just described, $10 per person?

Mr. MARTINOT. Yes. That was the way the committee financed its operations.

Mr. WILLIS. In addition to the $10 for organization and other expenses involved, how much did the students have to pay per student for travel and other expenses? $100, was it?

Mr. MARTINOT. This is for the Christmas trip?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes.

Mr. MARTINOT. For the Christmas trip, the students had to pay, I think, $25 round-trip fare from New York to Toronto, and at that time we were graciously offered the use of a plane which was going to be paid for by the Cuban Federation of University Students.

Mr. WILLIS. From Toronto to Cuba?

Mr. MARTINOT. From Toronto to Cuba and back.

Mr. WILLIS. Who made the gracious offer?

Mr. MARTINOT. The Cuban Federation of University Students.

Mr. WILLIS. You had not included that awhile ago. I had understood that the only thing they would do would be to pick up the tab while living in Cuba, room and board.

Mr. MARTINOT. I said that is what the invitation included.

Mr. WILLIS. But subsequent arrangements were to the effect that the students would put up $25 for the passage from New York to Toronto and that that student group in Cuba would pay, or had arranged for the loan or charter of a plane to pay, for passage from Toronto to Cuba and Cuba back to North America, wherever that would be?

Mr. MARTINOT. That is correct. Those were the final arrangements that had been made for the trip in December.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Do you anticipate similar arrangements with respect to the projected trip next July?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. JOHANSEN. I am talking about similar arrangements by the Cuban student group.

Mr. MARTINOT. Well, I am guessing, but I would think so.

Mr. JOHANSEN. You would think so?

Mr. MARTINOT. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. That plane, was it a commercial plane or a private plane?

Mr. MARTINOT. It never materialized, I can't say.

Mr. WILLIS. But you know what it was supposed to be. You stated that they graciously made a plane available or offered to pay passage. Was this a private plane or was it on a regular commercial line?

Mr. MARTINOT. There are no regular commercial lines, or at least there weren't at the time, between Canada and Cuba.

Mr. WILLIS. So what would it have been if the plan had materialized? Come, you know that one.

Mr. MARTINOT. I don't really understand what you are driving at.

Mr. WILLIS. It is very easy.

Somebody, you said, and they are your words, graciously made a plane available. Now we find that that is through the good offices of the student group from Cuba. Was that a Cuban plane, for instance, would you know?

Mr. MARTINOT. Yes, the plane was Cuban.

Mr. WILLIS. So it would have been a plane sent from Cuba to Toronto?

Mr. MARTINOT. That is correct.

Mr. WILLIS. Would you know whether that was a government plane? You must know that one, too.

Mr. MARTINOT. No, I have no idea.

Mr. WILLIS. I do not want to ask you to guess, but what do you think about it? Surely you must know something.

Mr. MARTINOT. I have no information as to who owned the plane. I don't.

Mr. WILLIS. It would not be the students personally. They do not own a plane, do they?

Mr. MARTINOT. I don't know.

Mr. JOHANSEN. It is obvious certainly that this plane would have had whatever clearance from the government authorities was necessary for that plane to depart and return, would it not?

Mr. MARTINOT. Yes. It didn't get the clearance from the Canadian Government, though.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I did not ask about the Canadian Government. I said it would have to have clearance from the government authorities of Cuba to leave and return, is that not correct?

Mr. MARTINOT. I imagine so.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Are you not positive that that is so?

Mr. MARTINOT. No. This is one of the reasons why I would like to go to Cuba, you see, to find out what the situation is down there, exactly what the relationships are.

Mr. JOHANSEN. You want to go to Cuba in order to find out whether they have to have clearance from the aviation authorities in Cuba to leave Cuba and return to it, is that correct?

Mr. MARTINOT. This is one of the things we could find out while we were down there, yes. I don't believe this information is available in this country at the moment.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I fail to see any humor in it, and I reject, of course, your explanation that that is one of the reasons.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you know, as I think you do, that the plane that was to be sent from Cuba to pick up the students in Toronto was a Cuban National Airlines plane, a Cubana plane?

Mr. MARTINOT. I do not know this as a fact.

Mr. WILLIS. Are there any more questions?

Mr. NITTLE. No, the staff questioning has concluded, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. The witness is excused.

Mr. SPEISER. Thank you.

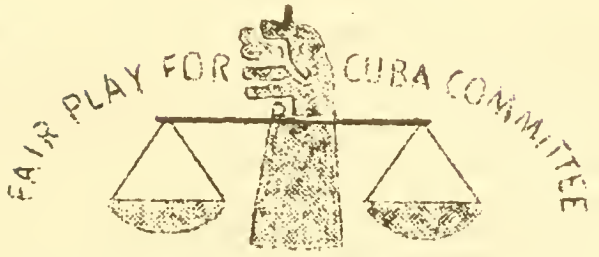
Mr. WILLIS. The committee will stand in recess, subject to the call of the Chair.

(Whereupon, at 5:15 p.m., Thursday, May 23, 1963, the committee recessed, to reconvene subject to the call of the Chair.)

(Members present at time of recess: Representatives Willis, Johansen, and Bruce).

APPENDIX

LEE EXHIBIT NO. 5



799 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

DRUMS OF WAR

As this is being written Washington is rolling the drums of war. News media are pushing a Congressional bandwagon full of reactionary forces screaming for the suppression of Cuba, and an aggressive administration, far from really silencing these sounds, presents us with a situation that has frightening parallels with events leading up to the crisis of last October.

Do not be lulled by White House deception framed in a TV panel. Let us not forget that Washington continues to call for more stringent measures against Cuba throughout the world, is making further demands on Cuba's internal affairs, and FOREMOST, continues to deny to all queries from all quarters the real existence of any commitment not to invade Cuba.

We find that the same people who underestimated last fall and scoffed at our warnings (in September we issued thousands of warning leaflets: SAND IN THE EYES CAN LEAD TO BLOOD ON THE BEACH) are using the same President's promise and evidence that it can't happen, and, again, our Committee faces a war crisis.

Fidel Castro, speaking to the Women's Congress in January, said: "...the Caribbean crisis has not been solved. ...a war was prevented, but peace was not achieved — and these are not the same thing." He detailed the administration's complicity in continued aggression in and against Cuba and asked: "What peace is there for us?"

The answer is the same for both our peoples: there is no peace, and the threat of war hangs heavy on the world. Present U. S. policy against Cuba makes this threat grave and immediate.

LEE EXHIBIT NO. 5—Continued

2

CUBA REFUSES THE GAUNTLET

Cuba has done and is doing all she can to avoid military conflict. Cuba has consistently refused to be drawn into battle despite some of the most outrageous provocations in modern history. Cuba has studiously avoided aggression to the point where Kennedy is forced to proclaim she has absolutely no offensive force. From the beginning, Cuba offered negotiation of all differences and to this day welcomes a feasible plan of disarmament, based not on mere words, but on actions which would guarantee her peace with sovereignty as a free and equal neighbor. It is impossible to deny that peace must be a bilateral responsibility, and Cuba has tried.

U. S. THRUSTS

Despite Cuba's consistent refusal to be drawn into open conflict the U. S. continues to bayonet the peace. Thrusting U. S. armed and trained terrorists onto Cuban soil to murder men, women and children, Washington violates every human law. Violations of Cuban air space and coastal waters are publicly proclaimed by the President himself. Thousands and thousands of U. S. military personnel are aimed at the heart of Cuba from the only foreign base on the island, which stands as a constant threat to peace in the hemisphere. And now, just as last fall, the trumped up "attacks" by Cubans. Last September in prelude to the infamous blockade we had a supposed firing on a U. S. plane by a Cuban ship; today it is the firing on a U. S. ship by a Cuban plane (with equally confused, conflicting and questionable reports). The parallel is amazing! Additionally, cutting off transportation to the island, imposition of a travel ban against U. S. citizens going to Cuba and the intimidation of all who dare speak out against these measures have left a picture of the U.S. as a cruel aggressor bent on mayhem in the hemisphere.

THE PEOPLE'S CHOICE

Cuba, it seems, has done and is doing all possible to win peace and is frustrated at every turn. International forces still struggle in this direction but more is needed. We must, once and for all make up our minds that it is the American people who must be the principal factor in the outcome of this dilemma.

We in the U. S. can and must make a determined effort to expose the dangerous path our government follows. It is up to us to speak

LEE EXHIBIT NO. 5—Continued

out against the forces of reaction and make a forceful contribution to the movement for peace already afoot in our nation. Strong efforts must be made to get the peace groups on the move, not just against war, but against the Cuban war in particular. They must be made to realize what faces our people in the event of such a war, and no amount of discouraging apathy must deter us. The situation is so serious that it is not a question of whether we can or cannot effectively speak out, but that we must. The impending war threat makes any other consideration impossible, and in the final analysis, who else is there who will undertake this responsibility? 3

FAIR PLAY CARRIES THE BURDEN

Conditions today are so critical that the Fair Play for Cuba Committee hinges its upcoming third anniversary on the question of the existence of Cuba. We know that Dr. Castro spoke the truth when he said that the U. S. might annihilate the Cuban people, but could never destroy their Revolution; but that is not enough for the American people. We know that we continue to live as Americans, true Americans in the spirit of our founders, only so long as we can live as equals alongside the Cuban Revolutionaries.

Above all others, because we do stand independent and yet open to all, to us lies the burden of struggling so much harder to achieve the peace we so sorely need, not just as a Committee, but as a real segment of humanity. It is up to us to reach into the community and bring the truth to our fellow citizens concerning the actual conditions which affect the peace between the U.S. and Cuba. We must continue to report to the American people the truth of conditions in Cuba; why and how the Cuban people live through their Revolution. We must strive unceasingly toward this end so our people may know and understand, and as a consequence, respond.

DEMAND DIPLOMACY

Imagine if you will, for a moment, the absence of diplomatic relations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union during all the critical periods of history which have faced our people in recent years. In the light of such a question the possibility is frightening! Yet today one of the keys to peace in the world, and most certainly in our hemisphere, is Cuba, and we stand (or fall!) without any diplomatic relations. This complete lack of relations with Cuba continues to be the most critical factor in resolving the question of war.

LEE EXHIBIT NO. 5—Continued

4 Fair Play must begin immediately the institution of a national campaign demanding the renewal of diplomatic relations. We know that this has been a principal plank in our platform all along, but now we must concentrate on this and organiza our forces in this direction. Almost every other point in our program could or would be resolved through the renewal of diplomatic relations, and carrying such a campaign to the people stands an excellent chance of acceptance in many quarters which would not work on other aspects. We must remember at all times that not only the resolution of all other points hinges on the renewal of diplomatic relations, but today it means peace or war. Without this peace, all our hopes and desires become bitter ashes.

FIRST-HAND REPORT

I would like to report that what I have to say concerning Cuba is based on first-hand information. On December 26th I left New York on a trip to Cuba and did not return until the 22nd of January. II spent almost a month in Cuba and was able to witness many of these things of which I speak.

When I report continued U. S. aggression against Cuba it is because I could see with the naked eye warships cruising off the coast of Cuba three months after the blockade was supposedly over. Not far from where I was visiting friends, one evening a little girl was burtally murdered. A young reforestration worker was burned alive, Southern style, and the list of atrocities goes on and on.

I was there when the news broke of the U. S. attempt to put Cuba out of the postal system. This fantastic plot made world history, although it has been silenced here at home. Calling a hemispheric meeting to exclude Cuba, someone fouled up and Cuba, too, was notified of the meeting. The outcome was such an overwhelming defeat for the U. S. that it has been conveniently forgotten.

I traveled around as much as I could during my visit, completely unrestricted, and saw a great deal (although I missed Oriente, which I shouldn't have). I spoke to innumerable workers, farmers and professional people as well as leaders of the Cuban Revolution. I heard the Voice of America spewing lies and had a first-hand example of its propaganda failure. I heard them report the shooting of a leader of the Cuban Revolution one night and met and spoke to him on the street the very next day.

LEE EXHIBIT NO. 5—Continued

I witnessed over 700 foreign visitors from almost every country on earth and shared a magnificent experience with them as we sat in the stands with Fidel and listened to him speak after reviewing the Cuban defense forces in front of millions of enthusiastic Cubans. Alone, that spectacle of the multitude pouring forth to cheer their leaders, could erase any doubt about the support of the Cuban people for their government. And, if that isn't enough, witnessing the Revolutionary leaders walking streets which swarm with fully armed citizens does the trick. I can't recall any unarmed Cubans; they are all armed, with loaded guns! 5

Opposition? I saw that too. Passing the abandoned American embassy I saw a crowd of about 200 milling persons. Stopping to discover the reason, I learned that they were applying to leave Cuba and seeking U. S. visas from the Swiss, who now run the embassy. After being told by the Swiss that they wouldn't grant visas because Castro had cut off Pan Am planes from Miami, (a lie, Pan Am long before had announced that it was cutting service to Havana) this crowd demonstrated. A "spontaneous" demonstration began with a well organized shouting that Fidel was a traitor, a liar and other vile things and a march began toward the center of town. The continued filth against Fidel brought immediate response from the people around, who swarmed to the streets against this demonstration. People dropped what they were doing (except for some housewives brandishing mop handles) and buses, cars, cycles and scooters quit in the middle of the street as drivers and occupants took out on foot after the demonstrators; shops and stores and even bank tellers dropped their money to chase them. In a few minutes over 5,000 people were a clamoring mob, and the few demonstrators were in a dangerous position. Police and militia flew to the scene and tried to quiet the angry people and make the crowd disperse. But the people were furious with the would-be exiles who reviled their government and leaders, and wanted their blood. It was a very trying situation for the police who were attempting to protect the demonstrators, and they were forced to bring in a contingent of trucks to get them away from the mob. While they were loading these trucks I heard one man screaming that they had no freedom to protest. A very disgusted young militiaman invited him to leave the truck and go back on the street if he felt he was being forced. He sat down, shut up and they drove away from the angry people, who chased for about a block before giving up. I later met some of those same demonstrators and talked with them. They complained bitterly against this new Cuba and said they were leaving on the ships bringing in the med-

LEE EXHIBIT NO. 5—Continued

6 ical indemnities being paid for the April 1961 invasion. All I saw were wealthy, were nostolgiac for the "old days" before Castro!

Achievements of the Cuban Revolution are visible everywhere. I have seen how Cuba achieved equality in society. Racial and religious equality is a fact of life there. For the first time, women are really equal. Fact: 50% of the students in the University's Medical School are women. Approximately 4,000 administrators were appointed in the nationalized stores and 90% are women, and on and on. The old wall between farmers and workers is being broken as workers pour out into the country each weekend to share the work on the farms and harvest the massive new crops being produced. Cuba, unlike the U. S., which has a serious unemployment problem, is extremely short of farm labor. Workers are volunteering their spare time to harvest foods never before available to the Cuban masses in such great quantity.

I have seen the building of industries which never before existed in Cuba as well as improvement and expansion of production from plants formerly foreign owned. Everywhere one sees the finest equipment in the world coming from socialist countries, along with technicians to teach Cubans to run their own industries. Aided development of a giant fishing industry, a modern merchant marine and discoveries of oil, cobalt, copper, nickel and iron all brighten Cuba's future.

In a time which ended far too soon I saw such achievement that I could talk on it for hours. I'm still putting notes and recollection together and you will hear much more on this subject in the future.

ATTEMPTS TO SILENCE

Hardly had I returned to the U.S. than the pressures were put on to keep me quiet. The day after my arrival a subpoena was issued by the infamous Eastland committee. After repeated postponements there was a closed hearing in February. Rather than consume good space on this waste of taxpayers' money (nine people to question one witness part of one day cost an estimated $1,000), let's just say there was a very cool response to three hours of questioning during which period I invoked my privileges as an American. Sample of type of some questions: Answer yes or no, do you still take money from Communists?

I will not surrender to this or any other form of intimidation (including exiled counter-revolutionary thugs who have threatened to "gun down" Fair Play leadership) and I am going to tell the frue fact

LEE EXHIBIT NO. 5—Continued

about Cuba and the U. S. to all who will listen and that I can reach. 7

SPEAKING OUT

In the area of our National Office I have already begun to speak in forum and lectures,aand I am ready to speak in other areas too. A critical situation in U. S.-Cuban relationsddemands that all our people learn the truth about Cuba and be warned of the dangers which our government instigates. It is necessary to reach out far and wide to the broadest possible audience right away.

NOT ALONE

Bringing the message to the American people is a considerable task and cannot be accomplished by anyone alone. The publication of pamphlets like Fidel's key speech of January 15th requires much work and many hands and dollars were used to make this available today. A new leaflet takes work and money too, lots of it. To travel to and from each community exhibiting pictures and bringing the story direct from Cuba requires the help of many. Above all, it will cost us more money than we have now.

Our National Office is too limited financially. The response to the last mailing's appeal for renewals and contributions helped, but there are still too many who have not yet sent in their renewals, and they should be sent in now. You must realize that we cannot carry on with unpaid subscriptions indefinitely, our list will be purged soon.

The legal costs of that Senate hearing took an ill-afforded bite from our treasury (enough to do a complete national mailing!) There are many pamphlets and leaflets we must print and we need more funds for that. The combination of taxes, rents, telephone, stationary and other normal operating expenses are high and go on forever. As an example of the costs let me point out that even after a weeding out of the files, the increased postal rate will bring the cost of this mailing up to over $325; $250 for postage alone and we are using the cheapest reproduction and volunteer labor. This means that these two mailings have consumed about 125 annual subscriptions! The hearings in Washington burned up another 50 subs and a cheap printing 35 more! (A more detailed financial report is forthcoming this spring.)

LEE EXHIBIT NO. 5—Continued

A JOB TO DO

The job we have to do is enormous, but it is a job that MUST be done. Each of you across the nation has a very great responsibility. I accept mine willingly and wholeheartedly and will do my upmost. I hope you will help me bear this burden and share the responsibility of getting this most important work done.

Don't procrastinate. We cannot afford to wait for the burning heat of a crisis which could very well consume us. We must act, and act now, to do our part to stave off this crisis and begin a concrete program for the future. Today, before it is too late we must, with solidarity and with discipline, make the sacrifices needed to carry through our program. There is no individual among us who can contribute too little, any more than there is anyone who can contribute too much. Those of you who have not yet sent in your renewals do so immediately. Don't forget the contributions either; subscriptions alone do not fill the gap and we have a great deal to do and little enough time to do it in.

AÑO DE ORGANIZACION

Sitting in the Plaza Civica on January 2nd I heard Dr. Castro announce that this would be called in Cuba: THE YEAR OF ORGANIZATION. I could not help but think that this would be a fine slogan for this, the third year of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. I suggest that this be OUR Year of Organization and that our motto be Solidarity, Discipline, Sacrifice. I hope you will join in a program which will win for us the right to freely go together and visit our neighbors in Cuba, Free Territory of the Americas.

Fraternally,

V. T. Lee, National Director

Send to: FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE, 799 B'Way, New York 3, N. Y.
☐ $5 annual membership. ☐ $5 subscription only. ☐ Contribution

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LEE EXHIBIT NO. 7

price 15¢

CUBAN COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES IN THE UNITED STATES

* *Who are they?*
* *Who subsidizes them?*
* *How do they menace freedom in the U.S. as well as in Cuba?*

by V.T. LEE, *Past President, Tampa Bay Chapter, FPCC*

An abridged version of a lecture delivered at a forum of the N.Y. Chapter, FPCC on March 12, 1962

Published by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee

LEE EXHIBIT NO. 7—Continued

Prior to liberation, Cuba's people suffered under a U. S.-sponsored dictatorship which conducted a campaign of oppression and terror in which thousands were murdered to preserve that dictatorship. Batista's crimes equal the horrors of Nazism. Whole armies of torturers were maintained which killed people for the sheer sake of torture.

Dr. Castro's revolution removed the leaders, directors and participants in this crime against humanity. Some were convicted of their acts by Revolutionary Tribunals, some escaped into hiding in Cuba, but most fled the wrath of a freed people and entered the U. S. as exiles.

These participants in the rape of Cuba were accomplices of the U. S. And all they did to the humanity of Cuba was done in the best interests of the U. S. Financial interests controlling U. S. policy coordinated their activities, and the international view of the dictatorship was sponsored by the U. S. Militarily, the oppression was directed by a Pentagon officer staff, military supplies came from U. S. armories, their military leaders were decorated for their actions by the U. S. with medals appropriated by Congress, and the U. S. State Department officials honored dictator Batista above all men.

The U. S. ran the economy of Cuba. U. S. firms owned or controlled its wealth, skimming the top and leaving a portion for lackeys who permitted this thievery. The corruptors of Cuba became extraordinarily wealthy, but the masses of Cuba starved as a consequence.

Political life was directed by Washington and all political activity between the nations was in the best interests of the U. S. So deep did this go that even the capitol in Havana is a miniature of Washington's.

This band of Cuban butchers now exiled in the U. S. is still working for the same interests. Their policies are unchanged, their personnel unchanged, and but for the grace of the people's militia of the Free Territory of the Americas, only their locale remains unchanged.

The U. S. resisted the changes brought about by Dr. Castro before he entered Havana; and at this time, the changes represented no more than an end to butchery and starvation. They were resisted by a Cuban dictatorship in the interests of the U. S. garrison state.

Inferences that the U. S. sympathized with Castro are made to whitewash U. S. complicity in the rape of Cuba. If the U. S. did not oppose the advent of a new government, why did it supply Batista's regime with tons of arms to fight the rebels? It stopped them only when it became obvious that he could use no more than he had already received! Why did we decorate Batista generals who led attacks on the people? Why did our military staff stand by Batista to the bitter end? Why were rebels arrested and imprisoned in the U. S. for trying to send aid from here? And finally, why did it welcome the professional killers to our land and why do we continue to aid and abet them today?

The U. S. didn't keep hands off Cuba during the Revolution. It threw rebels in prison, where some of them are today! Recently, Cuban women protested the holding of their men in U. S. prisons where they have been since Castro was in the mountains. Their pleas are still unheard.

Press and government reports show control of the U. S. by financial giants who once ran Cuba. Action taken against the Revolution from the time of Batista until today has been in the best interests of the U. S. The Cuban Revolution could be replaced by only one other system: that fostered by interests of the U. S. These interests never have, never will, and never can be the interests of Free Cubans.

Evidence of these financial interests is advanced in press coverage of the counter-revolutionary groups of Cuban exiles. First in the press and first in the hearts of the bankers is JOSE MIRO CARDONA, head of the Revolutionary Council organized in the U. S. (Note that this same press which complains about no elections in Cuba never says a word about the strict autocracy of these counter-revolutionary groups!)

Cardona is considered the official representative of the counter-revolutionaries by the U. S. According to the press, he has at least the semi-official backing of the government and is known to be a confidant of the White House staff. Cardona is palmed off as a liberal. Hearst papers quote Cardona liberalism for Cuba thusly: *"I would repudiate all those (recent laws) which strike at private property."* Meaning, this U. S.-styled liberal would take the land from the Cuban peasants and return it to the U. S. companies and their Cuban lackeys.

Exiles are now part of our public life. They have been imported from Cuba, are allied with the U. S., are dedicated to the overthrow of

LEE EXHIBIT NO. 7—Continued

Cuba and maintain close ties with Batistianos. Many Americans are deceived into believing that the exiles are liberal and democratic, but Cardona's Council is made up of political lackeys, opportunists and remnants of a dictatorship. These so-called liberals include publishers of Cuban periodicals, politicians who served Batista, bankers, industrialists and landowners who shared the spoils.

Cuban periodicals cooperated with Batista's dictatorship to suppress the people just as they had done under Spanish rule. Waldo Frank in his recent book, ''CUBA, PROPHETIC ISLAND'', recalls that the paper DIARIO DE LA MARINA abused Jose Marti, favored Spanish rule and survived through subsidy and troop protection. Batista continued this policy of subsidy and protection for his prostitute press, and the exile publishers are now here for further protection and subsidy.

An example of the ''freedom of the press'' type exiles is JORGE ZAYAS, publisher of AVANCE, now being published under the auspices of the U. S. Zayas has been classified as a ''refugee'', but he left Cuba of his own free will, openly, on a regularly-scheduled flight of the Cuban Aviation Co., on January 20, 1960. He voluntarily went into exile in the U. S.

Four days later, Zayas was elected Regional Vice-President of the Inter-American Press Association's Freedom of the Press Committee for the Caribbean Area. (President of this is Andrew Heiskell, Board Chairman of TIME, INC.) The MIAMI HERALD ran a series by Zayas slandering Cuba's government and he was lauded as a hero and democrat of U. S. caliber.

Zayas' caliber speaks for itself in the pages of AVANCE and this is what he said in response to the people's growing unrest under Batista: *''If the country is showing its willingness to cooperate with the government of General Batista in the task of national order and direction, as proved by the fact that the most representative sectors of the economy and of labor are pleased by the integration of the Consultative Council, no minority group, and much less if it represents disorganizing and antidemocratic tendencies, can be accepted as an obstacle to the total effort which must culminate precisely in a democratic restoration within the frame conceived, and promoted by the people, with the credit of the antecedent, now historical, of he who was the champion of the Constitution of 1940: General Batista.''* Later, in 1952, a newspaper strike was proposed as a result of the kidnapping and torturing of newsman Mario Kuchilan by Batista's police; Zayas responded in AVANCE on August 21, saying: *''On this occasion, as in October of last year, we disagree with the proposal, considering it totally incongruent with the very function of journalism, fulfilled, on the contrary, by the extraordinary occurrence of a protest in which the national press has given evidence of a spirit of solidarity. A voluntary newspapermen's strike would really make no sense.''* The following year after additional crimes by Batista, Zayas printed on March 11th: *''Yesterday's pronouncements could all be summarized in the conclusion that the objectives of the 10th of March, recapitulated by General Batista, reside essentially in the pacific reestablishment of Constitutional life with a democratic regime, an achievement which no Cuban should refuse to support.''* Notice the ''pacific''. Thousands of mutilated bodies rotted in Cuba to keep it ''pacific''.

Perhaps Zayas was just deceived and hadn't found Batista out yet as had the rest of Cuba. No! Four years later, on January 15, 1957, Zayas printed: *''Tomorrow will be the saint's day of the President of the Republic, Major General Fulgencio Batista Zaldivar, who will spend it happily with his family and numerous friends and admirers. On such occasion AVANCE is particularly happy to express to him, cordially as well as respectfully, its salutations and best wishes, praying to the almighty that the moderating placed in his hands by the Constitution through the highest office of the nation, will enable him to give a pacific and harmonious coexistence for all Cubans to enjoy.''* This published a few days after the Gramma landing and again the word ''pacific'', used when Batista murder figures had surpassed 15,000. Don't be disillusioned, Zayas did it only for the money. Records showed that Zayas drew $200,000 from an account set up by Batista. Quantities of cash handouts were large too.

Zayas, like all the newsmen in exile, fled Cuba for the same reason. Cuba's press was subsidized by Batista; that is, except for the revolu-

LEE EXHIBIT NO. 7—Continued

tionary press, and that is still freely published. We in the land of ''freedom of the press'' cannot read that because our government has it on an embargo and we cannot get that side of the story at our newsstands. Yet, Zayas still publishes AVANCE in exile and is U. S.-subsidized!

Zayas is the rule. Recall the incident when exiles presented documents, later proven forgeries, which denounced Frondizi? These were supposedly taken from the Cuban Embassy and were an attempt to make Argentina sever from Cuba. The man presenting those forgeries in that subversion was representing the F. R. D., the gang led by Cardona. That subversive was MANUEL BRANA, former editor of EXCELSIOR in Cuba.

There are many of these ''freedom of the press'' men, or rather, as a Cuban calls them, ''gusanos'', or worms, crawling around. Active in some counter-revolution against his people and ours is LOUIS BOTIFOLL, editor of EL MUNDO. He too still makes money off his publication in exile. These propaganda experts are still inspiring and supporting the violence that they thrived on under Batista. The WASHINGTON NEWS in mid-October reported a speech by newsman CARLOS TODD who spoke as a counter-revolutionary activist committing violence against Cuba who returned to Miami and was publicly organizing further violence. Remember the foiled assassination attempt on Cuba's leaders? Participants were captured and identified. One of the assassins was ALFREDO IZAGUIRRE RIVAS, of the defunct reactionary periodical, EL CRISOL.

The list goes on with details of exile newsmen involved in crime and corruption. Members of a reactionary press seem adaptable to such occupations. But the yellow press has no corner on evils being perpetrated against the Cuban people. The entire counter-revolutionary movement is riddled with corruption and their roster is a wanted list of criminals that has no end.

An attempt to list the counter-revolutionary groups with the officers needs more space than is available. Even then it would be inaccurate because they fluctuate so much one cannot be pinned down very long. The process is that a potential politician sets up an organization and expects prestige and, of course, money. Some they lure from their cohorts and the rest comes from a U. S. agency, the CIA being best because they spend the most. Difficulties arise from the fact that there is only so much room for officers and even by padding the executive rolls a group is soon saturated, and, each exile being an opportunist, a split develops. Another group is soon formed and the process is repeated over and over. Today there are hundreds of exile organizations vying for power.

Floridians are witness to these activities and in Miami can see an ambulance at one of the exile ''peaceable assemblies''. In Tampa, one night the sidewalk in front of F. R. D. headquarters was littered with pieces of folding chairs and two women were seen scurrying home to replace clothing torn to shreds. Gusanos put on some great spectacles.

The WASHINGTON NEWS said on October 3, 1961: *''The exiles' ranks are splintered with 177 organizations vying for allegiance.''* Remember, the NEWS favors them, so you had better add quite a few! The following day the N. Y. TIMES said: *''DR. JUSTO CARRILLO HERNANDEZ, former President of the Cuban Bank for Agricultural and Industrial Development quit the Revolutionary Council. Dr. Carrillo, 48, is President of the Monticristi Movement.''* Notice his title of the past, no worker he. TIME reports: *''They (the exiles) spend their time talking, arguing and fighting their own civil war against the Fidelistas in Miami's permanent Cuban population of some 40,000. Score in recent weeks: two dynamitings, four Molotov cocktail attacks, and one case of arson.''*

A Miami UPI report said on October 7th: *''A group of Cubans set up a Cuban government-in-exile here to rival the Revolutionary Council of Jose Miro Cardona.''* Four days later the MIAMI HERALD reported that the F. R. D., which is part of the Council, was fighting back by trying to unite *''20 organizations including: The Triple A Independent; The Student Directorate; The Christian Democratic Movement; The Workers Front; The November 30 Movement; The May 30 Movement; The People's Revolutionary Movement and the Revolutionary Recovery Movement.''*

These are just a few of the many and their names. There is also a White Rose Society, led by ex-Senator RAFAEL DIAZ-BALART, which is 100% Batista. Others hide their Batista affiliations, but they openly espouse

LEE EXHIBIT NO. 7—Continued

the return of Batista. And, despite their public relations claims, the other organizations are riddled with Batistianos. One could hardly be a banker, big landowner, newspaper publisher or politician during the Batista regime and not work with him. Those who fought Batista had no part in that aspect of public life before the Revolution.

Note: Batista soldiers are still receiving personal checks from the dictator every month. Those with continued loyalty receive the Batista check for $250. Many Floridians have been present while these checks have been cashed and spent by these butchers. Batista is maintaining an army of foreign mercenaries on U. S. soil with money stolen from the poor people of Cuba. These killers are some of the "freedom fighters" lauded by the U. S. press, embraced by the government, and paid by its agencies!

Don't forget ESTEBAN VENTURA and ROLAND MASFERRAR. They move freely in Florida living a rich life. They are seen with their killer bodyguards, armed, on U. S. streets. Ventura's reputation was that of the "Himmler of Cuba", and Masferrar's crimes too cruel to title!

Last year Masferrar was arrested and Americans who knew his record breathed a sigh of satisfaction. The press played it up with the implication that we were removing an undesirable alien. The story quickly died out. Why? Because Masferrar is still free in Miami and was only interrupted because his privately conducted invasions of Cuba were not helping U. S. prestige and stealing steam from the U. S.-backed Council of Cardona. Obviously, the U. S. and Masferrar came to an agreement as he still runs around Miami playing tough guy. He will continue to do so as long as this government pursues a policy of admitting the scum of the earth classified as refugees from communism. Even a butcher like Masferrar, leader of an army of torturers who castrated hundreds of Cuban teenagers to insure Batista elections, will not be classified as an undesirable alien while able to operate within walking distance of the law offices of a racist like SENATOR SMATHERS!

These invading exiles are involved in everything contrary to the welfare of our people. If you lived amongst them and suffered their depredations you would be well aware, but whether you see them or not, the impact of their activity is paid for many times over by all Americans.

While our students suffer from an acute classroom shortage, Dade County, Florida is setting up separate classrooms to cater to the exile children. Reports grow of friction in the schools, and Ribicoff announced the allocation of $2,000,000 just for the Cubans' education. All this was in one edition of the MIAMI HERALD, on September 19th. Most children from American working class and even middle class families cannot afford universities and colleges, but these sons of exiles can go to the college of their choice because our government pays for it with our tax dollars!

If an American is sick and without insurance, property or money, it is really tough. Not so for exiles, they have free medical and dental care compliments of the U. S. Taxpayer. Then, we have so much "freedom of the press" that our taxes are subsidizing the publication of counter-revolutionary periodicals. Our tax dollars buy every kind of corruption imaginable, but worst of all, they may be buying our deaths in a war of international proportions in an attempt to take Cuba from her people who now enjoy the only liberty in their history. What a futile expenditure!

Exiles contribute nothing and take everything. All last year our press reported that the class of fleeing Cubans had changed to laborers, farmers and members of minority groups. The WALL STREET JOURNAL ran an article with headlines screaming: *"Many More Laborers, Farmers Flee Castro Regime"*. Proof that this was an unmitigated lie comes in the form of another U. S. paper which failed to coordinate its "voluntary censorship" with Wall Street. On the last day of November, the MIAMI HERALD goofed and refuted this lie by reporting: *"Plans to put Cuban refugees to work in south Dade fields have been abandoned, a Florida State Employment Service official said Sunday. Bryan Page, F. S. E. S. Farm Placement Officer, said the Cubans are unsuited to farm labor. 'We tried using 48 of them last year and the longest anyone lasted was 3*

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days,' Page said. 'It's not that they don't try,' he said, 'It's just that they're middle and upper class people not conditioned to that kind of work.' Page conferred with Refugee Officials last month on possibilities of easing the farm labor shortage with Cubans. He was hopeful that since last year more farm type Cubans had arrived. 'But I found that this was not the case,' Page said. Marshall Wise, Director of the Refugee Center, said a check of his rolls turned up so few Cubans with agricultural experience that it appeared useless to try them as farm laborers.'' Note that this report is from the current crop season of '61-'62, not a similar one from a year ago! Despite the JOURNAL's contentions, this will always be the case. Working class Cubans don't flee because it is they who now own the land, they who now enjoy the fruits of their labors, and it is they who are resisting the tyranny the counter-revolutionaries wish to place them under at the instigation and with the aid of the U. S.

The class character of the exiles is not, never has been, and never will be working class. The exiles are the parasitic worms who ate away at the decaying corpse of a corrupted society and who have come here to feed anew. As the MIAMI HERALD so accurately put it, they are ''upper and middle class people'', and certainly, the worst element of that.

Please note that most of this damning evidence against the exiles is not ''communist propaganda'' but comes in the main from the U. S. press which is their support. This evidently was part of Kennedy's worry and caused him to request our editors to exercise restraint and censorship.

Further information concerning the class character of the exiles came from a woman with the International Rescue Committee, who was quoted in the last April SATURDAY EVENING POST as saying: *''I've seen more true gentility here, more understated elegance than I've ever seen before.''*

Ventura and Masferrar must throw ''elegant'' parties in that ''elegant'' mansion on that island near Miami Beach which often has the ''genteel'' company of the ''elegant'' Senator Smathers! Much more ''elegant'' than the miserable hovels that American migrant workers live in down the road, where the exiles are ''unsuited'' to work!

Exiles are unsuited for work, but seem well adapted to other things and it's no wonder they've found champions in SMATHERS of Florida and TOWERS of Texas. Southern bigots and exiles make good bedfellows. The overnight achievement of racial equality in Cuba, not toleration, but EQUALITY!!, must really burn them. Politicians don't overlook this, and are well aware that Cuba has the support of its minority groups, and the bigots and parasites are the only Cubans coming here into voluntary exile. On December 29th, the WASHINGTON NEWS quoted the famous witch-hunter, REPRESENTATIVE WALTER, as saying about the exile influx: *''There are no Negroes in the exodus, not even mulattoes, because Castro is counting on the support of minority groups.''* Walter is correct, they are not coming here, and they are not coming here for the same reason that Robert F. Williams had to flee the U. S. and seek asylum in Havana, capitol of the Free Territory of the Americas, the only free and equal place in the hemisphere! What sane black man would want to live in this white hell?

Miami Police Chief Walter Hadly, in that same edition of the POST, disagreed about exile ''gentility''. He said the Cubans are a *''headache, given to settling political quarrels by acts of violence, such as shootings, bombings and throwing rocks through store fronts''*. TIME has reported troubles with the exile numbers racket, and the city has had more than its share of a prostitute problem from Cuba. For two years the Miami schools have been plagued by narcotics attempts and suddenly the Federal government has shifted the blame to Communist China's influence in an attempt to pacify citizens' ire and save their proteges. In October the MIAMI HERALD was reporting trouble in the schools but it was hushed up. Miami is seething with violence over these exiles and that is the only reason they are trying to relocate some of them now. The simple fact is that it is so bad that even Federal funds can't soothe the headache!

To many members of the working class, black and white, it's more than a ''headache'', it's a downright bellyache and not from irritation, but from lack of food. The area suffers serious unemployment, so serious

LEE EXHIBIT NO. 7—Continued

they have been forced to food doles to hungry workers from the black community. The November 9th issue of JET ran a feature story on the plight of that community. Here are some quotes: *''A Collection Agency...managing 10,000 apartments and homes (owned by whites) for Negroes in Miami, said it was forced to create a free employment agency primarily to seek jobs for their tenants. An estimated 20% of the tenants have lost jobs to Cubans.''* And: *''Melvin Jackson, head of Miami Labor-Domestic Div. of F. S. E. S., said that many Negroes and whites 'have told us about losing their jobs to Cubans, but we haven't taken any notes on it.' Marshall Wise, Director of the Federal Cuban Refugee Center in Miami, defended his 'charges' with the assertion that 'of course the Negro would be the first to suffer. The guy with the least will work for the least. This is a part of the American (capitalistic) system'.''* Also: *''Negroes, by and large, are sympathetic to the Cubans, feel that Castro has given the black Cuban status he never before knew in Cuba. The black Cuban comprises an infinitesimal percentage of Cubans coming to Miami. 'Cubans can be treated (at government expense) and are housed in modern, air-conditioned wards at Miami's Jackson Memorial Hospital', declared Garth Reeves, editor of the MIAMI TIMES. 'But paying Negro patients are not allowed in there,' he said. Charles A. Lockhart, a former union organizer said: 'I don't know the outcome. But if it continues this way, it can become explosive!''* On another page of this same edition they talk about: *''The Miami woman who was denied welfare aid because she had an illegitimate baby and the question she posed about the thousands of Cuban mothers coming into the city with children and receiving welfare aid. She left welfare officials with this puzzler: 'How do you know which of those Cuban mothers have illegitimate children?''*

Exiles are granted surplus food parcels too, but it is quite different. They also get preferential treatment and government checks far exceeding anything Americans receive, plus free medical and dental care and free education, besides hidden fringe benefits. As for their receipt of surplus foods it is interesting to note that they were not using them on the basis that it wasn't good enough. Perhaps it was not good enough, but it was good enough to warrant black Americans going into the alleys of Miami to salvage what many exiles threw away!

Most of them taking jobs away from Americans are those who came out after Castro cracked down on those removing the country's wealth. If restrictions on removing the country's wealth were unique to socialist countries the press could be excused for its attack of Cuba on this basis, but it must be recalled that this is an old practice throughout the world and it was only recently that Britain, for instance, eased its monetary restrictions on Continental tourists. Cuba, in an effort to preserve her economy which was being attacked by the U. S. and tiring of seeing its wealth being used for counter-revolutionary activities, halted its exodus.

Cubans who were unable to land here with what in most cases were ill-gotten gains, were hard put, especially since their wealthier prototypes are very uncharitable. (Batista alone has enough ready cash to bail out the entire invasion army that was captured at Playa Giron!) In their cases there is much collection of U. S. checks and since it is hard to have been rich and then adjust your taste down, they work also for the extra money. And, since they do have the checks and all the other free handouts, they cut the wages out from our workers.

It is hard to tell which of the exiles is really broke because they hide their wealth and lie to get the checks too. For instance, on the 25th of February of 1962 the MIAMI HERALD had this item: *''Mr. X has been receiving a $100 family allotment since the fall of 1960. He reported only pocket money and $216 in the bank. Actually he had $16,576.80 on deposit in a Miami checking account. His wife had a savings account in five figures.''* Those who live with this element can tell you that this is the rule, not the exception. Too many are seen driving up to local markets to cash their checks, and driving away in Continentals, Cadillacs, Chryslers; and all of them new models!

LEE EXHIBIT NO. 7—Continued

The Miami press carried some further reports of exile corruption as citizens became indignant, but little is really done as the exiles get everything ''fixed'' from the top. However, there is more talk of refusing checks to those who deliberately refuse jobs, and this is causing the labor problems anew. Those who get all that free medical care, food, clothing, gifts, etc., can afford to work for half wages in competition with our workers. Unscrupulous businessmen fire our workers and replace them with exiles. They save on wages, combat trade unionism and fulfill the capitalists' dream of a well-controlled working class. Needless to say, friction between Americans and Cubans is at the burning point.

Businessmen love the whole set-up, as expressed in this article from the September 30th MIAMI HERALD: *''Employers say they (the Cubans) make superior workers. One employer likes Cubans because: 'He works at a minimum wage,' and also, 'He never talks and even eats while he works!' This businessman hired seven more right away.''* Think of that now, he even works while he eats! If that businessman can only get the Refugee Center to send him some no eating type Cubans, he'll have it made!

Proof that the exiles receive preferential treatment comes from an October 16th MIAMI HERALD article which reports: *''that under the Cuban program more people are eligible, that they get 20% more than ordinary aid to Americans and about 33 1/3% more than our old age assistance. And, $2,000,000 a month is available for Cubans and only one million for the Americans, and there is always a shortage for the Americans.''* That sum represents only the cash, not the other benefits, and there is no shortage!

There is a taxi driver in Miami who can tell you how he picks up a little rich girl every morning, drives her three blocks to school, and repeats the trip in the afternoon. He receives a dollar each time. In between, he takes exiles to town to collect their checks by taxi. By now they are well-known to each other and there is no need to tell him to park around the corner while he awaits their return trips. He knows it doesn't look good to drive up in a taxi to collect a pauper's check.

An American gas station owner in Tampa can tell you about the exile who drove up in a new car one afternoon and asked him how much his mechanic was getting. Upon discovering the wage he told the owner he was formerly boss of the Ford concession in Havana and knew the job, had the tools (he had, all new, never used, in the trunk of the car), and would work for a third less if he'd be hired in the other's place. Much to his surprise, the gusano found himself being run off the property with the warning never to return even as a customer, because the owner felt that anyone who would do a thing like that to another man was a thief. However, this type of businessman is the exception; most fire Americans.

The plight of American workers is particularly sad in Tampa, which is a one industry town, already suffering ''creeping'' unemployment in a semi-automated cigar industry. (Newer industries coming in are no help, as they are all fully automated.) Tampa's workers have just received the U. S. bonus from Punte del Este: an embargo which completely eliminates all their jobs. These people who never were well off will really suffer! Historically, this is the second time that Tampa's Cuban-American cigar workers have been persecuted in attempts to oppress the Cuban people. During the revolt against the Spaniards, Tampa's workers responded to the pleas of Jose Marti who lived amongst them and spoke on the steps of the factories. In retaliation, the Spanish ruler in Havana imposed an embargo on Cuban leaf to put them out of work. Now their descendants, who on the whole still sympathize with the plight of the Cubans, are about to be supposedly finished off again. But this time, as before, the boss must learn that oppression and hardship cannot destroy an idea and he is only going to get his troubles back two-fold.

It is interesting to note that in Tampa, the Fair Play for Cuba Committee has its only southern Chapter. This is still a large and active Chapter, publishing its own bi-lingual newsletter on a regular basis. A national television broadcast with the Governor of Florida last year had the Governor admitting that exiles won't move to Tampa because they consider it too ''pro-Castro''. The fact is that Tampa has easy access to the truth about the Cuban situation through innumerable relatives living there, and Tampans can hear Cuban radio on standard broadcast. Under such circumstances it's difficult to deceive them with false reports.

LEE EXHIBIT NO. 7—Continued

Before last April's invasion the people of this city vigorously protested against the action they saw building up, and many went to Cuba to join what they felt was a just cause. Since that invasion, many more have relinquished residency and citizenship in disgust with this nation. If ever the truth were revealed and not covered by false reports the American people would learn that thousands of Cubans have and are still leaving the U. S. to go to Cuba. Even non-Cubans are taking flight to live in the new, free land to the south.

These people know only too well that the U. S. is preparing another invasion and they have chosen their side forever. This unfortunate truth is something that must be learned by all our people, and quickly.

The evidence is there and we must expose it. For instance, the N. Y. POST, on October 9th, printed this report out of Miami: *''Tomorrow is the Cry of Yarra Day celebration for the exiles. (Cry of Yarra being the old call to arms against the Spaniards.) The Cubans are beating the war drums again. Miro Cardona, President of the Revolutionary Council, will observe the occasion with announcing the reorganizing of the Council on a hoped potential war basis.''* On the 11th of the month there were denials that there were any exile military camps in the U. S., but one of the exiles in the Council admitted that there just might be some ''wildcat camps''. It is interesting to note that there is even the possibility of ''wildcat camps'' in violation of American law, when all know that none could operate here for Castro during his Revolution! Additional proof comes from an AP report out of N. Y. saying: *''Anti-Castro Cubans are recruiting in N. Y., Chicago, Miami, and San Francisco for a war to liberate Cuba, a spokesman said Saturday night. JUAN BRAS, speaking for a committee which organized the rally, said the U. S. has a duty to help arm them. The rally speaker, JULIO GARCERAN, provisional president of an exile government, said: 'This is a call to war'.''* Garceran is part of a group competing with Cardona's Council, but you see within a few days of each other they are pushing the same war line. Garceran was a former Supreme Court Justice, so we know his interests. He's being sponsored by PRIO SOCARRAS, another of the infamous Cubans who hopes to get some of the gravy Cardona is making from the U. S. However, the Council does not wish to cut the cake any thinner, so there's lots of in-fighting. That AP report was on the 30th of October, and in response to the setting up of this exile government in competition to Cardona, the U. S. Justice Department on the 7th sent a note to Garceran telling him it was illegal to have an exile government here. This was a mild protest just for the record and made to assure Cardona's success and not have his supporters desert to a new camp. Obviously, the U. S. doesn't really oppose any of the counter-revolutionaries, it wants all their people held in reserve for the big push against Cuba. But it must make real overtures to the Cardona Council because it already has so many of its men committed to the military camps throughout Central America.

Supporters of the opposition exile government included CONGRESSMAN VICTOR ANFUSO, D-Brooklyn. Anfuso went to Miami as the guest of Prio Socarras to address a rally at the formation of the exile government. On September 15th, the MIAMI HERALD quoted Anfuso as saying he had met with RUSK, *''and gathered that the U. S. government 'would like to see a government-in-exile, but would not want to take an official position; they want the Cuban people to form an exile government without interference.' He added that he believed a second military movement would soon be launched against Cuba.''* It was quite a rally in Miami, about 6,000 gathered on September 17th to hear Anfuso praise the exiles, the exiles praise him back again and there mingling in the crowd, two of the main instigators of the rally were warmed to the cockles of their hearts. Which two? GENERAL MANUEL BENITEZ and RAFAEL DIAZ-BALART! Remember Balart, he's the head of the White Rose Society! There were more, too many more!

Let's settle the issue about a more ''Liberal'' counter-revolutionary group. It's been spread around that one MANUEL RAY is no Batista man. It's entirely possible that he wasn't tied in with the dictator before, but if his claims are true, his acts now make him little better. He's put up to be the number one sabotage man in Cuba now. You know, those bombs that have been going off in theatres, department stores, streets, and let's not forget the one in the school child's desk. Rela-

LEE EXHIBIT NO. 7—Continued

tives of innocent Cubans who have been murdered and maimed might be able to tell you a little bit about this kind of liberalism. Strangely enough, the American Social-Democrats spoke well of his sabotage efforts, so either they have been well-conned or are a pretty miserable bunch; you choose. Proof that Ray is just another one of those gusanos is given by U. S. NEWS, which found no aversion to his shade of ''liberalism''. They said: *''In November (1960) however, from his secret hiding place in Havana Ray issued a manifesto that attacks Castro's ties to the Communists. It called for restoration of democratic freedom, return to free enterprise and the restitution of property seized by Castro.''* That ''restitution'' amounts to exactly the same policy as Cardona's Council and another try at subjecting the Cuban peasants to U. S. imperialism. Rather ''liberal'' with Cuban property rights is about all there is to Manuel Ray. He's among the missing these days and it is assumed that either he fell out of the graces of the CIA completely (that could be dangerous) or he got off his high horse and joined GENERAL PEDRAZA's Batista army down in Guatemala (that will be fatal).

He hasn't been seen around Florida recently, but neither he or the other exiles will ever be missed down there. Floridians have had enough of them all and their rotten ways. Our people have been shot, stabbed, beated and bombed by this mercenary army of the CIA. Yes, there really is subversion in the U. S., plenty of it, and it's being financed and directed by the U. S. CIA. There is a foreign army operating on U. S. soil, and they are attacking Americans with immunity, not only in Florida but throughout the nation. In Hoboken, N. J., an American girl received shards of broken glass in the eyes when a Molotov cocktail was thrown through an office window. In N. Y. C. there have been innumerable cases of beatings and other violence against those who have opposed the exile-program. In Los Angeles exiles attacked a FPCC rally and had to be forcibly driven away from the speakers' platform which they tried to attack with black-jacks, chains and tire irons. Continuing the fight outside, one of the exiles shot at a detective and at that point arrests were made. It was obvious that police needed protection even if Fair Players didn't. In Miami the home of an American woman called pro-Castro was demolished by bombs: this in response to her refusing to move and buying iron window shutters to stop the rifle, pistol and machinegun bullets. In the heart of Miami's business district a restaurant was bombed repeatedly until the owner was forced to sell out. So was a nearby barber shop. At the latter, the bombers were caught in the act in broad daylight by unknowing passers-by and held for the police. With Federal representatives at the court, they were released for ''lack of evidence''.

As for Freedom of the Press, imported Cuban periodicals have been vandalized, their distributors attacked (one shot in the neck), and the readers' homes bombed. The only time arrests are made is when the victim gets caught resisting. Southern justice strikes white as well as black and it really pleases southern police to witness this imported style of Klan activity. There have been pseudo-raids on homes in Florida in which police, FBI and gusanos all shared. Many of the exiles carry ID cards which explain them as some sort of Federal helper boys, and occasionally they try to pass themselves off as full-fledged FBI men.

Tampa, considered pro-Castro, was thought to be such a prize that the exiles made repeated forays and committed all kinds of violence in an attempt to drive Fidelistas under. Once there were two different Cuban-American clubs just a few doors apart. Both were repeatedly attacked and reopened time and again after repairing damages. At first, attacks were made while people were in the clubs and men and children had been beaten, slashed with razors and shot at. Later, some of the attackers were caught and dealt with by the members, and that ceased. Finally, they spent half an hour one early morning completely demolishing both offices, down to rebreaking the broken pieces of furniture and knocking out completely door and window frames.

Tampa's FPCC became active just about the time these Clubs were forced to disband and attempts were made to intimidate the Chapter personnel. However, it had no office to lose and by this time people had learned how to protect themselves against this sort of violence and the attackers were satisfactorily discouraged from repeating these acts.

There is a force operating within the U. S. which is composed of foreign mercenaries, and this force is being used to attack Cuba and to

LEE EXHIBIT NO. 7—Continued

try to silence anyone here who might effectively protest this illegal and immoral act. That it is led, sponsored and financed by the U. S. is beyond any shadow of a doubt. The CIA has created a subversive army!

Evidence is again piling up for another invasion of Cuba. In view of the critical international situation, this threatens the world with nuclear holocaust. This war policy of the U. S. can be attributed to men totally blinded by greed and vindictiveness. They pose Americans not with the question of whether or not they agree about Cuba, but whether they wish to see their nation go further fascist and whether they wish to be destroyed in horrible nuclear war.

The conference at Punte del Este was set up to bring U. S. military intervention to Cuba and since the conference failed in this, the U. S. is forced to resort to its underhand counter-revolutionary army. Today the forces in the off-shore training camps and bases have doubled. The U. S. is still working with the old Batista forces to make a Cuban war. As recently as February 27th the MIAMI HERALD ran an article about attempts to relocate a few exiles in a rather unwelcome Cleveland. One of the exile leaders interviewed express their attitude thusly: said DR. OSVALDO SOTO, a member of the Cuban Revolutionary Council: *''Personally I'm against resettlement...our problem is to go back and free our country as soon as possible. We are trying to get any kind of help to go and fight Castro. Resettlement makes it hard to do that.''* Also, the press has reported speeches by one GUTURREZ MENOYA reporting on guerrilla fighting in Cuba. He is reported as touring with top (Cuban) officials to Cuban colonies in U. S. cities to obtain contributions to buy arms and supplies. He said they were highly pleased with support received. On January 1st the AP reported Cardona asking for joint military action against Cuba. The TAMPA TIMES on February 6, 1962 reported a rally held by the Student Directorate to solicit funds to make war on Cuba. It said: *''Cuban students in exile want some $20,000 'to supply the underground in Cuba with fighting equipment'. Speakers included two members of the DRE executive council in Miami---LUIS ROCHA and LUIS GUTIERREZ.''* In September the BALTIMORE SUN announced *''a planning commission of the F. R. D. which called for the U. S. to give 1½ billion to put the Cuban economy on its feet after they took over.''* This 25 man commission includes ''liberals'' of the stripe of PEDRO MARTINEZ FRAGA, Chairman and former ambassador to the U. S.; JOSE ALVEREZ DIAZ, former minister of the treasury; ERNESTO FREYRE, a lawyer whose firm represented a number of American businesses; and SAMUEL GIBERGA, former Cuban Congressman.

Final proof of U. S. ties and intentions come in U. S. press quotes on the case of COLONEL MARIANO FAGET. WASHINGTON POST, October 23rd: *''The Justice Department confirmed yesterday that Mariano Faget, former Batista official, is assisting U. S. Immigration Service in screening at Miami. 'He never questions alone. There is always an American Immigration Officer present,' a spokesman said. 'His purpose is to keep out any Castro agents.' Faget formerly served as Director of Repression of Communist Activities. A source of complaint against Faget has been exile Cubans who say he spends more time questioning those who may have fought Batista than anyone else.''* N. Y. POST, October 26th: *''Faget left Cuba on December 31, 1958, the same day as Batista. A Washington spokesman for Immigration says there is no reason to remove Faget. 'We have known this man for years,' he said. 'We are thoroughly aware of his entire background and there is nothing in it which would have made us stop his working for us in this fashion. He is an ex-police official who spent 20 years working with Batista governments'.''* The day before the N. Y. TIMES reported the White House as saying through Salinger: *''the problem of Colonel Faget is not a White House problem and the White House has nothing to do with it.''* Final settlement of the issue came in the N. Y. TIMES report of November 27th, stating that *''the creation of a special committee of anti-Castro leaders to help screen security risks among Cuban refugees was disclosed today by the Justice Department.''* Also, that the department had received protests over Faget but planned to keep him and that policy. It also announced: *''Cooperative evaluating by anti-Castro organizations of Cubans seeking refuge will continue as standard policy.''*

LEE EXHIBIT NO. 7—Continued

So many ''liberals'' have been heard from that it would be best to conclude the press quotations with one from the ''liberal'' to end all ''liberals'', KENNEDY. In his April 20th speech after the invasion last year he lauded the ''freedom fighters of Playa Giron'', and gave special praise to the commander who sent the ''I will never leave this beach'' message for the publicity gang. (It's true, he never did leave the beach, he was captured.) Who and what kind of a man was the so-called freedom fighter so dear to the ''liberal'' Kennedy? His name is ROBERTO SAN ROMAN, he was a Brigidier General in this invasion. This was a big jump in rank; this ''liberal'' brother of Kennedy was just a Captain in the armies of Batista when he fought against Castro in the mountains before!

It has been shown that the U. S. has allied itself with the worst elements of fascism to attempt the conquering of Cuba. These elements are doubly illegal in that they are used against Americans as well as Cubans. Americans must resist this subversion against themselves, and for the sake of peace for all humanity, fight for HANDS OFF CUBA!!!

FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE
799 Broadway, New York 3, New York

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